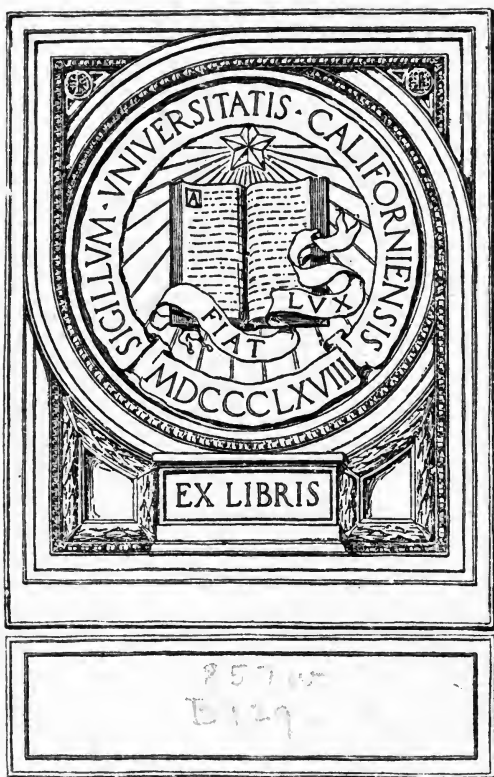
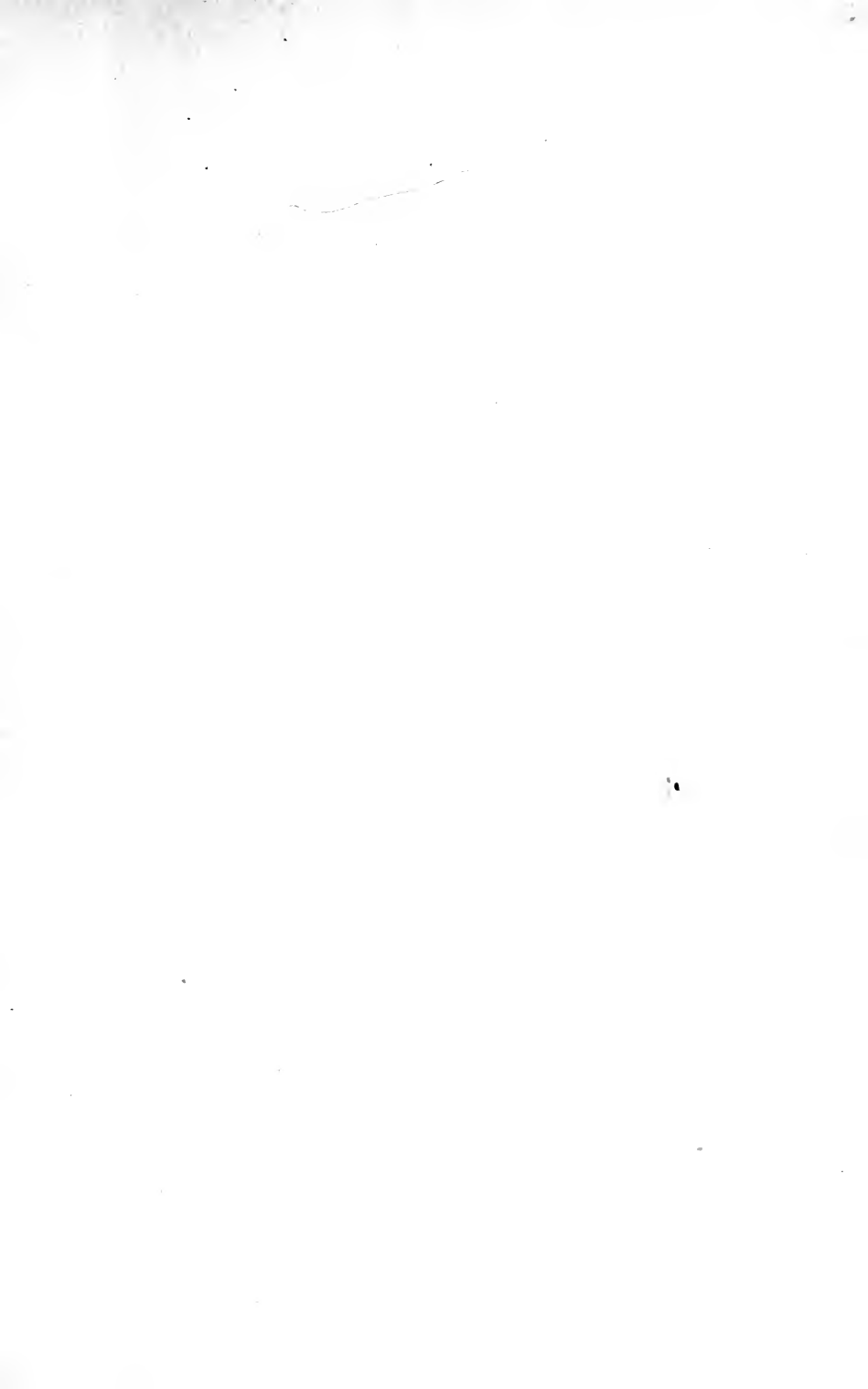


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HERAUSGEGEBEN

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HEFT 4



TÜBINGEN

VERLAG VON J. C. B. MOHR (PAUL SIEBECK)

1910

THE SOURCE OF WOLFRAM'S WILLEHALM

BY

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WITH ONE PLATE



TÜBINGEN
VERLAG VON J. C. B. MOHR (PAUL SIEBECK)
1910

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TO .VINU
AMBOFILLAO

Druck von H. Laupp jr in Tübingen.

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1682
W8
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1910
MAIN

Dedication

to those of my friends who, after the fire at Deephaven
Camp in August, 1907, by their gifts made it possible for me to
return to Berne and do this work.

Preface.

The subject of the following study was suggested to the writer by Professor Samuel Singer of the University of Berne, Switzerland. The publication of an edition of *Aliscans* with an approximately complete set of variant readings (Wienbeck, Hartnacke, Rasch, Halle 1903) seemed to warrant a fresh comparison of Wolfram's version of the story of the battle of *Aliscans* with the Old French versions, notwithstanding the fine work on the subject published by Fräulein Nassau Noordewier in her thesis entitled *Bijdrage tot de Beoordeeling van den Willehalm*. Delft, 1901.

The discovery and publication (Chiswick Press, 1903) of the *Chançon de Willame* gave a new interest to a search for further sources of the material still unaccounted for in *Willehalm*.

A plan was made for a study to be divided into four chapters; the first to contain a comparison of *Willehalm* with its Old French sources; the second, parallel summaries of *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; the third, a detailed analysis of all differences between *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*; and the fourth, a critical comparison of the literary value of the two poems, based on the preceding work.

It is the first chapter alone, which is offered here to those interested in the subject.

My thanks are due and are gratefully offered to Professor Symons of Groningen for kindly lending a copy of Frl. Nassau-Noordewier's thesis, without which my work would have been

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quite incomplete, to Professor Louis Gauchat of the University of Zürich for generous expenditure of time in explaining difficulties in the Old French, to Professor G. Gruener, Professor F. M. Warren, and Professor F. Luquiens of Yale University, to Professor Mary G. Cushing and Professor E. R. Laird of Mt. Holyoke College and to Rev. T. D. Bacon of Salem, Mass. for a careful perusal and criticism of the manuscript, to Fräulein Mary Müller of the Girl's High School of Berne for reading the proof.

It is difficult to express what I owe to Professor Samuel Singer of the University of Berne for suggestion, direction and criticism. Professor Singer has been the inspiration of the work from beginning to end, and his kindness has extended to finding a publisher and reading the proof. My heartiest thanks seem a poor return for the care and patience given to guiding my work by Professor Singer.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE, June 16th. 1910.

S. A. Bacon.

Introductory.

A. The Interest of the Subject.

A French model is the usual source for a Middle High German court epic and it is not surprising to recognize a version of Old French material in the second greatest poem of Germany's greatest epic poet of the mediaeval courts.

Our curiosity is stimulated, however, as soon as we begin to compare Willehalm with the extant Old French poems concerning the same hero, for Willehalm contains much that they do not, and they contain much that it does not, and the points common to Willehalm and the Old French poems are curiously distributed among the members of a group of Old French epics which constitute the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange. There are nineteen ¹⁾ branches or poems in this cycle. More than half of them have been supposed to have furnished something toward Willehalm.

By far the larger part, indeed almost all of the mass of material common to Willehalm and the cycle is to be found in one member of this group of Old French epics. Nevertheless the incidents and allusions which seem to refer to other branches of

¹⁾ J. Bédier counts twenty four: *Les Légendes épiques. I. Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange. Chap. I. commencement.*

the cycle are sufficiently numerous and striking to excite much discussion. Differences of opinion exist as to which poems of the group were known to Wolfram. The question is also open whether he had information about his hero which was not contained in the poem or poems at his disposal.

Reference has just been made to a poem which contains most of Wolfram's Material. It is entitled *Aliscans* and begins in the thick of a desperate battle between the heathen led by Desramés and the Christians under Guillaume's leadership. We gather that they are fighting for the sake of Arabella, who is Desramés' daughter and Guillaume's wife. She has abandoned her heathen husband and children, has turned Christian and has taken the name Guiborc.

The battle goes against William. He loses all his men including his heroic nephew, Vivian. He returns to Orange and there receives consolation and encouragement from his wife, Guiborc. He goes to get help from the emperor and finds him holding court at Monlaon.

After a cold reception Guillaume secures a fresh army and the assistance of a young giant, Rainouart. They return to Orange and go thence to the former battlefield where they win a great victory due to Rainouart's strength and valor. The heathen are entirely routed. After the battle Rainouart is at first neglected and he plans revenge on his ungrateful chief. Afterwards he is honored, baptized, recognized as Guiborc's brother, knighted and married to the emperor's daughter.

It is possible to classify in various ways the additions and omissions which Wolfram has made in *Willehalm* to the thirteen versions of this story which we possess in as many manuscripts. San Marte in his book entitled „*Ueber Wolframs von Eschenbach Rittergedicht Willehalm von Orange und sein Verhältniss zu den altfranzösischen Dichtungen gleichen Inhalts*“ (Quedlinburg und Leipzig 1871) determined the classes of additions which were

necessarily added by Wolfram because by their nature they could not occur in any Old French poem. Many differences remain between Willehalm and the Old French epics on the same subject, which might have been in an Old French version or may be Wolfram's personal contribution. Every new discovery of ancient literature treating of Guillaume d'Orange may reveal something more of the material in Willehalm.

B. Résumé of Work done in the Field.

1. Lachmann's critical edition of Willehalm appeared in 1833 ¹⁾. The Old French epics on the same subject had not been printed and no one had found an approximate source for the German poem.

2. In 1854 J. A. Jonckbloet published at The Hague a cyclical collection of Old French poems, which he called after the central figure in them „Guillaume d'Orange, Chanson de Geste des XI^e et XII^e siècles“. One of these poems was Aliscans and in it Jonckbloet assumed that Willehalm was unfinished, an opinion that already the introduction of Ulrich von Tûrheim's continuation seemed to suggest.

Jonckbloet's edition made use of four manuscripts of Aliscans but did not give all the variant readings.

3. A new edition of Aliscans appeared at Paris in 1870, entitled „Aliscans, chanson de geste publiée d'après le manuscrit de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à l'aide de cinq autres manuscrits par F. Guessard et A. de Montaiglon“.

¹⁾ Most recent edition Wolfram von Eschenbach, 5. Ausgabe von Karl Lachmann. Berlin, G. Reimer 1891. Another edition of Willehalm has recently been issued which embodies some critical emendations of Lachmann's text: Wolfram von Eschenbach hgg. von Albert Leitzmann, viertes und fünftes Heft: Willehalm. Halle a. d. S., Max Niemeyer 1906. Citations in the following study are from Lachmann's text.

The editors mention Wolfram's Willehalm (on page LXXXII of the preface) in a disparaging way.

4. The following year (1871) San Marte published a detailed comparison of the French and German versions of the story of William and tried to account for Wolfram's deviations from Aliscans. (The title of the book has already been given page 2.) San Marte's work has been the foundation of later criticism. But he assumes four hypotheses which more recent critics have called in question. These are:

First: Wolfram had at his disposal every poem of the William of Orange cycle to which a resemblance can be found in Willehalm.

Second: Wolfram knew no version of Aliscans different from those known to San Marte.

Third: Wolfram added all material in Willehalm not contained in the versions of Aliscans known to San Marte.

Fourth: Willehalm is finished.

Besides the objections to these assumptions, a fifth objection may be made to San Marte's work. It is that he is very strongly biassed in favor of Wolfram and against the Old French poems.

5. The comparison of Aliscans and Willehalm was taken up again in a briefer form by H. Saltzmann under the title „Wolframs von Eschenbach Willehalm und seine französische Quelle“. The article appeared in the „Programm des Realprogymnasiums, Pillau 1883“. Saltzmann is enthusiastic in his admiration of Aliscans and scornful of Willehalm. He accounts for various changes from the French to the German by believing that Wolfram did not understand the French. He called attention to some parallels that had remained unnoticed and are still accepted, but some of his explanations have been rendered absurd by the discovery of other versions of Aliscans which give an evident source for some of the corresponding passages in Willehalm.

6. J. Seeber published an article entitled „Ueber Wolfram's

Willehalm“ (Programm, Brixen 1884, pages 4 to 17) which I have not been able to secure. Frl. Nassau Noordewier in her thesis ‘Bijdrage tot de Beoordeeling van den Willehalm’ (Delft 1901) speaks of him as believing that Aliscans was the only source of Willehalm. Seeber pointed out passages in Willehalm, which suggested a further development of Rennewart’s fate than is given in the poem. He believed it unfinished and Bernhardt ‘Zum Willehalm Wolframs’ (Z. f. d. Ph. 32, 40) quotes him in support of that opinion.

7. There was published in 1894 (Reisland, Leipzig) an edition of the chanson, entitled „Aliscans mit Berücksichtigung von Wolfram’s von Eschenbach Willehalm kritisch herausgegeben von Gustav Rolin“. This edition offered an introduction, a critical text and variant readings. The text is an attempt to reproduce by a combination of the existing versions of Aliscans the form of the poem which Rolin believes constituted the French text which served as Wolfram’s source. Rolin himself admits (as Frl. Noordewier has pointed out l. c.) that there were probably features in the version of Aliscans, used by Wolfram, which are not to be found in this would-be reconstruction. (Rolin’s Aliscans Introduction page XII, note.)

Rolin’s work has received criticism by the following scholars: H. Suchier (Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie for 1894, page 331 following), Förster (Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland 1895, page 376 ff.), Phil. Aug. Becker (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie XIX, page 108 ff.), Friedwagner (Zeitschrift für französische Sprache XIX, II page 13 ff.) and Gaston Paris (Romania XXIII, 490 and Romania XXIV, 311). Paris accepts Becker’s criticism. Rolin’s text is established in an arbitrary fashion. The variants are not all given for the nine manuscripts with which he deals, and are so badly arranged that it is quite impossible to use them without the assistance of the two preceding editions of Aliscans. It is very dif-

ficult to make them out even then. Becker has given some illustrations of the difficulties in his above mentioned article. Rolin believes Willehalm to be complete.

8. E. Bernhardt published an essay „Zum Willehalm Wolfram's von Eschenbach“ (Z. f. d. Ph. XXXII, 39 ff.) in 1900. He accepts San Marte's opinion that Wolfram must have known several branches of the Old French cycle besides Aliscans and notably the Covenans Vivian. He admits (p. 54 l. c.) that Wolfram's account cannot be reconciled with the story in Covenans, but thinks nevertheless that Wolfram took various passages from that branch. Bernhardt considers the Willehalm unfinished and points out passages which indicate a possible sequel to what we have. Bernhardt shows various ways in which the German version has gained in clearness over the French. He considers that Wolfram's alterations were partly involuntary, the result of an attempt to reduce the subject matter to order in his own mind, after having become acquainted with a version of Aliscans and some of the other branches.

9. Frl. Nassau Noordewier in a doctor's thesis presented at Groningen in 1901, has given the subject of the relation of Wolfram to his Old French source vigorous treatment. She adds fresh material to the possible sources, and gives a delightfully clear expression to her argument. Her work is entitled „Bijdrage tot de Beoordeeling van den Willehalm“ (Delft 1901). She divides her work into three chapters. The first presents the question: Did Wolfram know other branches of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle than Aliscans?

Frl. Noordewier's answer is: No.

The second chapter asks: Must we suppose that the version of Aliscans used by Wolfram differed from the versions which we have?

Frl. Noordewier answers yes

The third chapter asks: Is Willehalm finished?

Frl. Noordewier says no.

She discovered in the Italian prose compilation of the legends of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange, a compilation called „Storie Nerbonesi“ (edited by Isola, Bologna 1877—88), passages dealing with the subject matter of Aliscans (I, 416—61. 497—518. II, 150—75. 481—528) which seemed to indicate the earlier existence of a version of Aliscans more similar to Willehalm than any of the versions with which we are familiar.

Frl. Noordewier found other passages which led her to the same conclusion, in the French Prose version of the cycle called by Gautier (*Les épopées françaises* IV, 27) „Les conquêtes d'Aimeri et de Guillaume son fils“. It exists in two mss. at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Nos. 1497 and 776, the second being a copy of the first. The author states that he has made some changes in the story and Frl. Noordewier warns us that she disregards all points of difference from both Willehalm and the existing versions and takes up only the points of contact with Willehalm which exist in the prose romance and differ from the poetic versions of Aliscans.

These are found between folio 363^r and 429^r.

10. Bernhardt in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* XXXIV, 546 ff. has criticized and reviewed Frl. Noordewier's thesis. He admits that Frl. Noordewier has proved that Wolfram's French text was not precisely similar to any extant version, and admits the possibility that the material which he and San Marte had supposed to be derived from Wolfram's recollection of other branches of the cycle, may have formed a part of the version of Aliscans used by Wolfram. Bernhardt calls attention to the fact that this possibility is not the only one. The manuscript which Wolfram used may have contained other branches of the cycle, since almost all extant manuscripts containing Aliscans contain also some other branches of the cycle.

11. The appearance in 1903 of the Halle edition of *Aliscans* (Kritischer Text von Erich Wienbeck, Wilhelm Hartnacke, Paul Rasch, Halle a. d. S., 1903) has thrown a little new light on some of the parallel passages in *Willehalm* and the Old French poem. This edition is greatly superior to its predecessors, but is still not beyond criticism. It professes to give all variant readings of all known manuscripts, with the exception of the inaccessible Cheltenham version known as *P*, and of the numerous lines in *L* not found in any other manuscripts and recognizable as additions and amplifications by a later hand, and which add nothing to the story.

The editor Hartnacke also states in the introduction (page XXIII) that the copy of *m* used was very incomplete and made it impossible always to give the readings of that manuscript. But R. Weeks (*Romania* 35, 309—316) in a criticism of the same edition gives over four pages of corrections of the variants and does not pretend to be exhaustive. His corrections do not cover a third of the poem¹).

A comparison on my own part of only 50 lines of the Halle text with manuscript *C* at Berne produced a list of eleven inaccuracies of which seven seemed more or less important²). A similar experience resulted from a comparison of a few lines of the new edition with manuscripts *d* and *e* at Paris. Hence all conclusions based on the variant readings of the Halle edition are given subject to correction in the following discussion. It is also sometimes difficult to determine how many manuscripts contain certain portions of the text.

Lorenz (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 31, 385 ff.) criticizes the genealogical trees of the manuscripts of *Aliscans* constructed independently by the three editors of the Halle edition

¹) Week's corrections have been used, wherever available, in this study.

²) A fire which destroyed all my notes, makes it impossible to reproduce the list.

and given in the introduction to it. Lorenz gives one of his own and in this connection he cites some of the inaccuracies of the Halle Aliscans.

12. Some interesting fragments of a Middle High German translation of Aliscans were published by Reuss Kitzingen 1839, the year after by Roth in his „Denkmäler der deutschen Sprache“ and were reprinted separately by him in 1874 (at Paderborn). They are known as the Kitzinger Bruchstücke. The subject matter which they cover, concerns Rainouart's exploits in the second battle of Aliscans. H. Suchier published an article (in Bartsch's Germanistischen Studien I, 134 ff., Wien 1872.) „Ueber das niederrheinische Bruchstück der Schlacht von Aleschans“ noting some striking points of contact between the fragments and Willehalm, but he saw that we could not assume the French manuscript from which they seem to be literally translated, to have been the one used by Wolfram.

Since the appearance of the Halle edition of Aliscans A. Leitzmann (Untersuchungen und Quellen zur germanischen und romanischen Philologie: Prag 1948. Prager deutsche Studien, Heft 8. „Zu den Kitzinger Bruchstücken“) has subjected the fragments to a new examination to discover their relation to the extant versions of Aliscans. He confirms Lorenz in his theory of the grouping of the manuscripts and gives as his result that the fragments go back to a version of Aliscans which has been lost. The text used by the translator would be to a great degree accounted for by a mingling and abbreviation of extant versions.

13. The recent discovery of an Old French poem entitled *Chançon de Willame or l'Archant* has suggested another possible source for Wolfram's material. The poem gives a very different version of the story of the Battle of Aliscans from any known before. The manuscript was printed in an edition of 200 copies in England in 1903 (Chiswick Press).

The question of the age of the poem has not yet been de-

terminated. Most scholars have believed it to be an earlier version of the story of Aliscans. Ph. Aug. Becker (*Grundriß der altfranz. Literatur* I, 53 ff. Heidelberg 1907) is uncertain whether the *Changun de Willame* is of earlier or later date than Aliscans.

C. The work of the critics has left the problems in connection with the source of Willehalm in a condition which may be expressed as follows:

1. Wolfram's poem is not a literal translation of any Old French poem. He made many characteristically German, and necessarily personal, additions to his French subject matter.

2. This French subject matter was for the most part contained in some version of Aliscans.

3. The version of Aliscans used by Wolfram was not exactly like any version that we know.

4. The subject matter contained in Willehalm and in other branches of the cycle, but not in any extant version of Aliscans, may or may not have been in the version of Aliscans used by Wolfram.

5. The subject matter contained in Willehalm and in later prose versions of Aliscans, but not in other branches of the cycle, probably was in Wolfram's version of Aliscans.

6. Wolfram may or may not have been familiar with some other branches of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle. He may have heard the poems, or have heard certain incidents from them, either at the same time that the manuscript was given him to use, or earlier, or later.

7. Willehalm is almost certainly incomplete, and the way it terminates, proves little for the ending of the French source.

8. It is impossible to state for any individual divergence in Willehalm from our versions of Aliscans that it was not in the Old French version of the poem used by him, unless by its nature it is excluded from any Old French poem of the kind.

D. The Objects of This Paper.

They are six:

I. To examine the indications concerning his source given by Wolfram in Willehalm.

II. To discuss to what degree it is probable that Wolfram had heard or read other branches of the cycle to which Aliscans belongs.

III. To examine to what degree it is probable that his version of Aliscans contained material to be found in later prose versions of Aliscans or in Chançon de Willame, but not in the metrical versions of Aliscans.

IV. To examine what divergences from the whole cycle of Guillaume d'Orange might be accounted for by other written sources with which Wolfram was, or may have been, acquainted.

V. To show to what degree the extant manuscripts of Aliscans were like or unlike Wolfram's text of Aliscans.

VI. To formulate a theory as to his source in accordance with the results reached by the previous discussion.

I.

Indications concerning his source given by Wolfram in Willehalm.

A. General Conception.

Wolfram's opening prayer and solemn dedication of his work suggest an intention of composing the life of the saint and bringing him to his holy end in his hermit's cell. The rounding out of an introduction giving a sketch of his early life perhaps implies a similar termination. We ask ourselves whether it is entirely to Wolfram that the development is due which converted the cruder, fiercer hero of the French chanson de geste into the warlike

saint of the German legend. If Wolfram had only a version very similar to ours, we have a number of strange things to account for, but if we grant that his version was quite different we shall be greatly embarrassed to tell just what was in it.

Certain similarities in Willehalm to one version of a branch of the cycle called *Moniage Guillaume*, and treating of Guillaume's last days, suggest that Wolfram may have known something of his hero's end which is not to be found in *Aliscans* as we know it. The relationship between *Moniage Guillaume* (Second Version) and Willehalm demands some explanation. We may find this explanation in a version of *Aliscans* containing the similarities between the two poems, or we may believe that Wolfram knew a version of *Moniage Guillaume* without the discrepancies which forbid us to assume that he was familiar with *Moniage Second Version*.

I incline to the first theory, because a comparison of the two versions of *Moniage* suggests the existence of a version of *Aliscans* which would have borne the same relation to existing versions of that poem, that *Moniage Two* does to *Moniage One*. That is to say: *Moniage One* and *Two* tell the same story, but have hardly a line in common. *Moniage One* is only a fragment. It contains no passages parallel to Willehalm and contains less allusion to *Aliscans*. It is crude and rough in comparison with the polished *Moniage Two* of not much later date.

We may be sure that Wolfram did not intend to give a complete summary at the end of his poem of any version of *Moniage* resembling *Moniage Two*; for in that case he would not have introduced a conspicuous incident from it in the earlier part of his poem. He certainly did not intend to do more than sketch the principal features of it after the close of *Aliscans*. He would have feared to repeat himself, if he had used the same material, before he reached the point where it applied.

It was not necessary for Wolfram to have any knowledge of any version of *Moniage* in order to know that his hero was

a glorified saint, the following lines are in all manuscripts of Aliscans except *a*:

640 a—h Por ce est bone la chancon a oïr,
Que il est sainz, dex l'a fet beneïr,
Et en sa gloire et poser et seïr,
Avec les angles aorer et servir.
Le suen barnages ne fet mie a tesir,
Ainz le doit on molt volentiers oïr,
Et entre genz et amer et cherir:
Molt bon essemple i puet l'en retenir.

It is, taken in the abstract, not unlikely that the conception of writing a legend to the greater glory of St. William, based on the cycle concerning William of the Short Nose, is to be ascribed to a Frenchman, perhaps to one of the monks in the monastery which profited by St. William's fame.

Perhaps this Frenchman introduced the gravestones on the second battlefield of Aliscans, a feature, the origin of which has been so mysterious in Willehalm. (Another way of accounting for the introduction of the gravestones is suggested in part IV of this paper).

Yet Wolfram is so independent in the expression of his feelings and in making additions of allusions which were certainly not in his model, that we can easily believe he was equally independent in his conception of his subject.

B. Direct and indirect allusions to some authority for his information.

The most important and most direct information that Wolfram gives us about his source is in the lines Wh. 3, 8—11.

lantgrâf von Dürngen Herman
tet mir diz mære von im bekant.
er ist en franzoys genant
kuns Gwillâms de Orangis.

These lines are open to a wide interpretation and it might have been supposed that Herman gave the subject matter orally,

if the correspondences between Aliscans and Willehalm were not so close and so numerous.

Thirty-six other references made by Wolfram have seemed worth some attention in this connection. It is noticeable that he does not use the expression common among Middle High German poets „als ich an dem mære las“¹⁾. The references which were obviously not inspired by anything in the French poem or poems, nor by any French source, have been neglected. The references follow in the order in which they occur, and are accompanied by the passage which may have suggested them, when it seemed possible to assume a parallel.

1. Wh. 3, 25 man hoert in Francriche jehen,
 swer sin geslähte kunde spehen,
 daz stüende übr al ir rîche,
 der fürsten kraft geliche.
2. 4, 9—14 sit uns diu wâren mære
 sagent daz du fürste wære
 hien erde: als bist ouch dort.
3. 5, 4—15 swer werdekeit will minnen,
 der lat dise âventiure
 in sinem hûs ze fiure:
 diu vert hie mit den gesten.
 Franzoiser die besten
 hânt ir des die volge lân
 daz süezer rede wart nie getân
 mit wirde und ouch mit wârheit.
 underswanc noch underreit
 gevalschte dise rede nie:
 des jehent si dort, nu hoert se ouch hie.

These three citations all seem to refer to oral reports that have reached Wolfram's ears.

The first passage indicates the high standing of the hero's family in France; the second that he was a prince; the third that Frenchmen find the story of Guillaume the sweetest that ever was told.

¹⁾ G. E. Martin, *Parzival* II. p. IX. ff. 1903.

Not one of these statements implies corresponding lines in Wolfram's literary source.

4. 15, 27—16,3 Provenzal und Burgunjoys
 und der rehten Franzoys
 het er gehabt gerne mër, (. Leitzmann)¹⁾
 dô reit der schadenhaften kêr
 der marcgrâve unverzagt. (: Leitzmann)
 sus wart mir von im gesagt, (.)
 wie er die heiden ligen sach. (?)

It will influence the meaning of Wolfram's reference whether we adopt Lachmann's punctuation or Leitzmann's, but in neither case can we find any parallel in Aliscans or elsewhere for Guillaume's reconnoitring before the first battle of Aliscans. In all versions he arrives in the thick of the fray.

5. 16, 17—21 ir gezelt, swenne ich diu præven wil,
 man mac der sterne niht sô vil
 gekiesen durh die lûfte.
 niht anders ich mich gûfte,
 wan des mich d'aventüre mant.

In Aliscans we hear nothing about camps on either side in the first battle. The heathen arrive direct from their ships (as some of them do in Willehalm (cf. 53, 22—25), or are already fighting, when the poem opens.

But if Wolfram wishes simply to imply that he has authority for stating the immense numbers of the heathen themselves, he can find plenty of such statements in Aliscans [cf. Al. 12—16, 26—27, 46—48, 184—186^b etc.].

6. 26, 30—27,4 sin bruoder Galafrê
 Der was noch wizer denne ein swan:
 ob mich diu âventiur des man
 daz ich in müeze prisen,
 daz envelschen niht die wisen.

¹⁾ Whenever Leitzmann's edition of Willehalm brings about a change in the meaning of the citations from the meaning of them in Lachmann's edition, the reading or punctuation of Leitzmann is given in parenthesis.

In the preceding passage „âventiure“ may be construed as inspiration or muse and does not necessarily refer to anything in the French source.

7. 37, 2—5 Terramêr kom gevarn.
 wir hören von sîm poynder sagen,
 es möhten starke velse wagen,
 dar zuo die wûrze und der walt.

There is a passage in Aliscans which corresponds well enough to this to have been its source.

- cf. Al. 5679—82 Desrames fait .XXX. grailles soner,
 a. .xxx. busines et .xxx. cors corner
 Et bien .m. trompes, .m. tabors taborer.
 Tout font l'Archant et Aliscans trembler,
 En la marine barges et nes croller :

8. 42, 1—11 Bertram dô strits ernande.
 seht ob in des mande
 Munschoy diu krie:
 oder twancs in âmie?
 oder müet in Vivianzes nôt?
 oder ob sîn manheit gebôt
 daz er dâ pris hât bejaget?
 hât mirz diu âventiure gesaget,
 sô sag ich iu durh wen er leit
 daz er mit Gorhande streit
 und Viviansen löste dan.

Does not Wolfram imply that the reason for Bertram's action was left to the imagination in his source? Aliscans gives no reason.

9. 53, 14—25 dô kêrter (Wh.) dan (sus hôrt ich sagen)
 nâch sîner manne râte
 gein Oransche drâte
 bî dem her allez hin.
 nâch schaden dûhte si gewin,
 daz in da niemen nâch enreit:
 vorstrît dâ niemen mit in streit.
 dô wând er dô sîn der frie.¹⁾

¹⁾ vor strite (dâ nieman mit in streit) wânde er dô sîn der vrie (Leitzmann).

rois Poufameiz von Ingulie
was mit eime geruowtem her
alrêrst dô komen von dem mer,
der keiner vient nie gesach.

The phrase „gein' Oransche drâte“ may seem an argument for Wolfram's having kept the sound of the French in his ears.

Compare „droit vers Orange“ below. There is, however, no suggestion in Aliscans that Guillaume asked the advice of his fourteen men.

cf. Al. 440—450 Li quens Guillaumes ot molt la char hardie,
Et damedie li estoit en aïe.
a. De .xx. m. homes, qu'il avoit en baillie,
b. Qui trestot furent de grant chevalerie,
N'ot ke .xiii. mes en sa compaignie:
Cil sont navré, molt est courte leur vie;
Mais tant se tindrent en leur connestablie,
C'une bataille de Turs ont desconfie.
Adont quidierent aler a garandie.
Droit vers Orenge ont leur voie aqueillie,
Quant devers destre leur sort la gens haïe,
a. ki dont a primes issent de leur navie.
.x. m. estoient de bataille rengie;
Rois Baufumés les conduist et les guie.

10. 55, 7—14 den künec von Ingulie
ein sin âmie
gefrumet het ûf Alischans
(âventiure, als dû mich mans),
des diu minne sol gepriset sin.
getoufet wip noch heidenin,
gebent nu selher koste niht,
swie vil man wiben dienen siht.

A suggestion for the splendor of the heathen Poufameiz-Baufumés may be found in the three lines following those last quoted from Aliscans namely.

Al. 450 a. Mainte baniere, mainte enseigne i balie,
· b. Et maint vert elme reluit et reflambie,
c. De l'or, qui luist, est la terre esclarcie. (wanting in *a d*).

We may also repeat here the remark under (6) i. e. „âventiure“ — muse or inspiration and does not necessarily imply any correspondence in the French source.

11. Wolfram has been giving the names of the kings allotted to besiege each side of Orange. His passage concerning these arrangements begins 97,12 and reaches through 99,7. These lines correspond to Al. 1775—1791, where we find the same situation. Only lines closely corresponding are cited.

97, 15 Terramêr und rois Tibalt
sich schöne leiten mit gewalt
für die porten gein dem palas
dâ Gyburc selbe tîffe was.
zwêne kûnege rich erkant,
Pohereiz und Korsant
andersîte lâgen

98, 4—5 zer vierden siten hôrten
Fâbors und Ehmereiz,

98, 10 wie diu fünfte sî behuot?
der pflac der kûnec Halzebier.
noch mêrist ir benennet mier:
Amis und Kordeis
und der kûnec Matribleiz

und Josweiz der riche. (98, 17. Matusales sîn vater)

98, 25 drîzec kûnege im wârnen benant
und manec esklîr vil rich erkant,
amazzûr und emerâl.
die swuoren dô sunder twâl
daz gesez ein jâr für die stat,
als sî Tybalt durch râche bat.
Oransch wart umbelegen,
als ob ein wochen langer regen
niht wan riter gûzze nider.

cf. Al. 1775. Devant la porte se sont logiez es prez:

Tiebaut d'Arrabe et li rois Desramez
a. Et d'autre part Corsus et Buherez;
Li rois Faburs et li rois Esmerez,
Li rois Borrel et li rois Mautriblez,
Amis de Cordres et li vieix Josuëz,
Avec els fu Haucebiens l'amirez,

Cil de Mautiste, li filz Matusalez.
 .xxx. rois furent que Persant que Escler,
 Jusqu'a un an ont le siege jurez;
 N'en partiront por vent ne por orez,
 S'iert prise Orenge et li murs craventez.

Again „eskliŕ“ and „escler“ suggest that the sound as well as the meaning of the French stuck in Wolfram's memory.

12. 112, 3—5 ich enhân der zal niht vernomn,
 wie maneges tages wære komn
 ze Orlens der marcrâve unverzagt.

This passage is discussed at length in the following chapters, in Ch. II under „C“: Cor. Loois and „G“: Mon. Guil., and in Chap. III under „C“: The French Prose Romance.

13. 112, 6—9 sîn herberge ist mir gesagt,
 daz er die schœnen stat vermeit
 und eine smæhe gazzen reit
 vor dem graben in ein hiuselfn,
 aldâ sîn ors Volatîn
 sich kûme ûf gerihte.

This passage is discussed at length in Chap. II under „G“.

14. 125, 20—23 Cristjâns ein alten tymît
 im hât ze Munleûn an gelegt; (;)
 dâ mit er sîne tumpheit regt,
 swer sprichet sô nâch wâne.

This passage is discussed at length below in this same chapter.

15. The situation of the following citation needs a word of explanation. The king and queen have come to the window above the courtyard and are looking down to see who the solitary armed stranger may be. He is thus described:

- 129, 14 ein wolf mit alsô kiuschen siten
 in die schâfes stîge siht
 (des mir diu âventiure giht),
 als dô der marcrâve sach.

In the French Louis goes to the window and calls down a rather mocking exhortation to the marquis to go and find lodgings and return to court for dinner.

Guillaume's reply is as follows:

Al. 2479 „Diex“, dist li quens, „com or puis esragier,
Quant ciex se paine de moi contraloier,
Ki me deüst aloser et prisier“ etc.

He goes on with threats and after his speech the two lines which follow, seem to justify Wolfram's simile.

2493 Lors commencha les iex a rouellier,
Les dens a croistre et la teste a hochier.

16. 153, 1—7 die minne veile hânt, diu wîp,
rœmscher kûneginne lîp
wart dick nâch in¹⁾ benennet.
die namn het ich bekennet,
ob ich die wolte vor iu sagen:
nu muoz ich si durh zuht verdagen.

cf. Al. 2689. 2772—74. 2795. This passage is discussed below.

17. A description is to be given of the arrangement of seats at the court banquet after the reconciliation of Guillaume with his royal hosts. Wolfram says:

175, 16 niht baz wart bescheiden mir,
wie die fürsten sâzen
innen des dô se âzen.
der kûnec sazte einhalb sîn wîp
und Alyzen, diu den clâren lîp
truoc. dar nâch er niht vergaz,
sîn sweher anderthalben saz,
und des wîp vrowe Irmschart.
ir sun, der harnaschvarwen bart
truoc, den bat si zuo zir komn.
der sprach „mir hât Tybalt benomn
swaz ich gesellen mohte hân:
mînen wirt, den koufman,
den heizet mir ze gesellen gebn.“
dô mohte Wimâr gerne lebn,
176, 1 wan er ans riches tische saz
und mit den hœchsten fürsten az
und rœmischer krône.

¹⁾ alsô (Leitzmann).

zwei hundert marc ze lône
 gap der marcrâve dem wirte:
 Irmschart daz wênic irte.
 wande er in nam sâbents in,
 dâ von wuohs zwivalt gewin
 Wimâre, guot und êre.

In the same situation in Aliscans we find most of the corresponding material. A little of it comes from a second banquet at Monlaon, after Rainouart has been introduced.

- cf. Al. 2996 ff. Quant ont lavé cil baron cevalier,
 Aval la sale s'asient au mangier.
 Aimeris sist de joste sa moillier
 Au maistre dois en l'estace plenier.
 Et l'emperere, ki France a a baillier,
 Sist après lui: molt le doit avoir chier.
- a. Et la roïne a son flanc senestrier;
 - b. Et li marchis Guillames au vis fier
 - c. Sist o ses freres ke molt aime et tient chier,
 Les lui sa niece, ki molt fait a prosier.
- 3003 C'est Aelis ou il n'ot k'ensegnier:

3032 Li quens Guillames li marcis au vis fier,
 Manda son oste Guimart et sa moillier.
 De joste lui les assist au mangier.
 Molt les honeure li marchis au vis fier.

To complete Wolfram's account we must combine with the foregoing the following lines:

- Al. 3484 Assis se sont, quant cascuns ot lavé;
 As maistres tables sist la flors des barnés.
 La fist Guillames ke frans hons honorés,
 Ke dant Guimar et ses fis a mandés
 Et sa moillier au gent cors honoré.
 De joste lui les asist les a les;
 Li siens ostages fu bien guerredonés,
 Car .cc. mars li a la nuit donés,
 Et bons mantiaus et bliäus engoulés.
 Dist li borgois: „Sire, merchis et gres!
 Diex me doinst vivre, k'encor vos serve assés.“
 „Voir“, dist Guillames, „de moi estes amés.“

18. The next specimen of Wolfram's citing his authority concerns Rennewart's farewell to Alize before Orleans.

Wh. 213, 9 de junge künegin sunder was
 under boumen anme gras:
 dar begund er durh urloup gên
 und eine wile vor ir stên.
 wan daz mirz d' âventiure sagt,
 des mæres wær ich gar verzagt,
 als ez im Alyze erbôt.
 si klagete sine manege nôt,
 die er in Francriche het erliten.
 dar nâch begunde si in biten
 daz er ir vater schult verkür,
 swaz der ie priss gein im verlür.
 „dû solt mit mîme kusse varn.
 dîn edelkeit mac dich bewarn
 und an die stat noch bringen
 dâ dich sorge niht darf twingen“.
 dîn magt stuont ûf: der kus geschach.
 Rennwart ir neic unde sprach,
 „der hæhste got behüete
 iwer werdeclichen güete“.

In Aliscans the embrace takes place a few lines before the scene at Orleans. Rainouart has thrown away his garment and has exposed himself to the jeers of the army. Guillaume rebukes the scoffers, encourages Rainouart to punish them and presents him with a new garment. Then follows:

Al. 3912 La fille au roi, Aelis, l'acena,
 Et Rainouars au tinel i ala.
 La demoisele de ses bras l'acola:
 „Rainouars frere“, dist ele, „entendés ça:
 En nostre cort avés esté piêç'a.
 Mais or voi bien, mes oncles t'en menra.
 Se j'ai fait cose ki onques t'anoia,
 Merchi t'en cri“. A cest mot l'acola,
 Et Rainouars trestout li pardona.
 A tant s'en torne, de li se deseavra.

At the parting before Orleans there is no such interview in the French but Aelis faints.

Al. 3938 Rois Loeïs plus ne le (Guillaume) convoia,
De lui parti, a dieu le commanda;
Et la roïne molt tendrement plora;
Ele et sa fille au partier se pasma.

19. The next specimen occurs just after Willehalm has been admitted to Orange after his return from court. A description of Gyburc's battle-stained appearance follows and is accounted for by brave fighting.

230, 1 Gyburc streit doch ze orse niht:
diz mære ir anders ellen giht,
daz si mit armbrusten schôz
und si grôzer wûrfe niht verdrôz
und ir wer mit liste erscheinde.
ir tôtez volc si leinde
gewâpent an die zinnen
und ruortez sô mit sinnen,
daz ez die ûzeren vorhten.

There is nothing similar to this story in Aliscans, but Willehalm itself contains another account of the same stratagem 111, 15—25. Fräulein Nassau Noordewier, in her above mentioned thesis on pages 35—39, discusses the likelihood that a similar story stood in Wolfram's version of Aliscans. The point is discussed below in this study.

20. The following citation refers to the appetite of some of those present at the great banquet at Orange after the arrival of Willehalm's family and friends. According to Lachmann's punctuation it is Rennewart's appetite, concerning which Wolfram cites „diu aventiure“, according to Leitzmann it is the appetite of the old Heimrich and of Gyburc, to which Wolfram refers. If we accept Lachmann's punctuation, we may find a sufficient parallel for Wolfram's statement in Aliscans.

247, 27 mit môraz, mit wîn, mit clârete
durh des alden Heimriches bete
wart sîn gepflegen aldâ ze stunt,
baz danne im dâ vor ie wart kunt.
Er verschoup alsô der wangen want

mit spise dier vor im dâ vant,
dazz drin niht dorfte snien.
ez enheten zehen bîen
ûz den nâphen niht sô vil gesogn, (.)
mich enhabe diu âventiure betrogn. (.)
si bêde wênic âzen,
diez im dâ heten lâzen
ûf der taveln gestanden.

cf. Al. 4302 Joste Aïmer va Rainouars seïr,
Derir son dos mist son tinel gesir.
Mangier li fist Aïmers a loisir
Et a grans trais le fort vin englotir.

It is to be confessed that this Aïmers is Guillaume's brother,
not his father. cf. Al. 4318—20.

21. At the end of the seventh book, after Terramêr has appointed his captains and has armed and mounted his charger, Wolfram announces the second battle as follows:

360, 29 Nu lât Terramêren riten:
hœrt wie die êrsten striten.
sîn helfe kumt in doch ze fruo.
nû hœrt, wer sölhe tât dâ tuo,
daz man in drumbe prise.
ob michs d' âventiure wise,
der sol ich nennen iu genuoc,
swer dâ sô hôhez herze truoc,
daz er sich prise nâhte,
dô man diu mære brâhte
uns in toufpæriu lant.

This statement is very general. It needs no other source than Aliscans. There are many leaders of the heathen host named in that poem.

22. Wolfram has just described the glories of Tybalt's armor, he now goes on to tell of Tybalt's joust against a Christian count:

366, 16 der grâve von Schampân,
der hôch gemuote Schampânnoys
kom gein dem milten Arâboys,
Gandalûz der fürste riche.

mirst gesaget, ritterliche
wart dâ diu tjust von in getân,
des si bêde pris müezen hân.

There is no mention of Gandaltûz in Aliscans, nor is the name in Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste*. Paris 1904. „Duk Gandilûz fiz Gurzgri“ occurs in *Parzival* 429, 20.

23. Wolfram describes Synagûn's personal qualities and then passes on to tell of his horse.

368,21 von im seit d' âventiure mîer,
sîn ors hiez Passilivrier.
daz was snel und trachenvar,
als im mit fiwers vanken gar
gefurriert wâren sîniu mâl:
ez gienc mit sprungen sunder twâl
under im vor sîner schar.

cf. Al. p. 345 CXXIa 8—14

8 Synagons vient par mi une bruiere
En sa compaignie gent de mainte maniere;
Cil de Palerne sont tuit de sa baniere.
Bien fu armés desor Passelevriere,
(Plus tost l'em porte tres par mi la jonchiere,
Faucons ne chace l'aloë menuiere).
Couvert d'un paille col et chief et croupiere.

cf. also in Aliscans the description of King Margot's mare:

Al. 5711 Margos venoit molt aïreement,
N'ot pas destrier, ains cevauce jument;
Ne le dounast por .m. livres d'argent,
Et l'uns et l'autres est noirs com arrement.
Plus tost ceurt l'ewe ke quarrans ne destent,
Toute ert coverte d'un paille d'Orient,
Blanc comme noif, trenchié menuëment.
Par mi le blanc pert li noirs gentement,
Tous ses esclos en ralume et esprent.

It looks as if the saddlecloth, described similarly in both passages, had formed a link between them in Wolfram's mind, and as if a combination of the two descriptions had resulted.

24. The following citation would not necessarily refer to

his French authority. We find no corresponding passage in Aliscans, nor can we trace the name of the country mentioned to a source. Poydjus rules over the country. It is mentioned frequently.

377, 12 von Friende hœre ich sag n
swaz man in dem lande
der wazzer bekande,
die dâ vliezent von Kaukasas,
ieslichez gefurrieret was
mit edelen steinen maneger slaht:
eteslicher tagete bi der naht
mit sinem liehte, daz er gap.

25. The punctuation again turns the scale for the meaning of Wolfram's next reference, but in this case we neither need nor find any parallel passage, whichever way we read it. In either case the statement is a very general one.

380, 26 hêrre und âmie
sölhes strîtes solten lônên,
op si triwe kunden schônên,
der dâ ze bêder sit geschach, (.)
als uns diz mære wider jach. (.)
Dâ lac vil sper zebrochen.

26. A few lines farther on Wolfram describes the violence of the battle and particularly the fierce attack of the Christians on the heathen.

381, 12 den getouften henden man des giht,
von Friende ab den gesten
ir tiweren pfelle glesten
manec swertes ekke aldâ begôz,
dazz pluot über die blicke flôz:
si wurdn almeistic rôt gevar.

We find no parallel in Aliscans.

27. Wolfram asserts that Josweiz fought for the sake of love:

387, 4 diz mære giht daz gein dem strit
in twunge hôhiu minne.

It seems possible that in this place „diz mære“ means Wolfram's poem and not his source.

28. A little further on Wolfram describes the advance of Poidwiz von Raabs.

389, 23 wir hœren von sîm ellen jehen,
er wart bî vînden nie gesehen,
ern schiede ouch dan gepriset.

We find no corresponding words in Aliscans, and what Wolfram says of him a few lines after, is in a form that could not have appeared in the French poem.

390, 1 man tuot von sinen tjosten kunt,
der Swarzwalt und Virgunt
müesen dâ von œde lign.

Wolfram fears his statement will be challenged and evidently feels his audience will think he is stretching the truth.

Both of these statements, however, imply to my mind nothing more in his source than that Poydwiz was one of the heathen leaders in the second battle of Aliscans, and this we find:

cf. Al. 5148 En Aliscans ot merveilleus hustin.
Es vos poignant Baudus le fil Aquin.
a. Ainc hons ne vit plus felon Barbarin.
En sa compaignie sont .x.m. Sarrasin;
Bien fu armés et sist sor Ampatin;
Hante ot de fraisne a un fer Poitevin;
L'ensengne porte au roi Alipantin.

Der junge Heinrich, Aïmers le chetis, kills Poydwiz both in Willehalm and in Aliscans and in the same situation (Wh. 411, 11—412, 30 cf. Al. 5165—5195).

29. 404, 22 der den Rîn und den Roten
vierzehen naht verswalte
und den tam dervon schalte,
dine gæbn sô grôzer güsse niht
alsô man Terramêre giht:
er umbefluot ot al daz her.

These lines describe the numbers of the heathen army, but the reference is so general that any of the many expressions in

Aliscans denoting the large numbers in Desramés' army might account for it. For example:

cf. Al. 5097 Quant Desramés ot sa gent ordenee,
La soie esciele a molt bien devisee.
.c.m. furent, cascuns ot teste armee,
Et .xxx.m. de noire gent barbee.

30. Halzibiers's men retreat toward the sea, Rennewart in pursuit.

414, 10 ir hêrren Halzebier man giht
daz er des tages mit siner schar
alrêrst der vinde nâme war,
daz er des sturmes begunde.

We find no such statement in Aliscans, but Wolfram may have considered it implied, because Halzebier is the first of the captains to whom Desramés assigns a division.

cf. Al. 5051 Li aumachour sont parti et sevré,
Et Desramés a sa gent ordené.
Un conroi a Haucebir commandé:
.xx.m. furent, quant il sont assamblé. etc.

31. The following lines are in praise of Halzebier, after Willehalm's nephews have killed this heathen prince.

419, 22 man giht daz sine hende
wol getorsten strîten unde geben. etc.

Unless Wolfram's source had changed entirely in character from the versions of Aliscans that we know, no generosity would be ascribed to the heathen. They are fierce and terrible, but they have no kindly virtues in the French. The valor of Haucebir is spoken of.

cf. Al. 5055 Ciex Haucebir avoit si grant fierté
Et si grant force et si grant poesté,
K'ainc ne feri homme de mere ne,
K'il ne l'eüst a un seul cop tué.

This description immediately follows the appointment of Haucebir as Desramés first captain. He dies in Aliscans at Rai-

nouart's hands. cf. Al. CXXI^b 59—135. (This passage also contains a description of Haucebir.)

Al. p. 350, CXXI b

70 a Ains plus fers hom ne fu de mere nes.

Estrangement demenoit grans fiertés,

a Molt estoit fel et de grans crueltés.

32. Two affirmations referring to „diz mære“ come rather near together concerning the onslaught of künec Purrel.

425, 16 si hânt noch umben wurf gestriten,

alle die getouften dâ.

was ir iht mër anderswâ,

diene sâhen sölhes kumbers niht,

als uns diz mære dannen giht.

The other passage applies to Purrel's helmet.

426, 11 ein ander wurm hiez muntunzel,

dar ûz dem künec Purrel

ein helm was erzuget.

diz mære uns niht betriuget:

daz sult ir hân für ungelogn,

reht alsô die regenbogen

in vier slahte blicke gevar

was des selben wurmes hâr.

als was sîn swarte ouch innen.

dine kunde niht gewinnen

weder schuz noch slac noch stich:

Perhaps Aliscans furnishes sufficient material for the first passage in the lines concerning the same situation and the same king:

Al. 6001 De nostre gent fesoit molt grant maissel,

Contre son cop ne valt arme un mantel.

But there is no suggestion of rainbow colors in the helmet, although in Aliscans also it is made of the skin of a beast „luitonel“, „noitumel“, „lioncel“ in different mss.

Al. 5998 Et si avoit en son chief un chapel

Qui estoit fais de cuir de luitonel;

Ne crient cop d'arme vaillissant un caudel.

34. The next reference to authority concerns the outcome of Purrel's struggle with Rennewart. Wolfram says:

431, 26 ûf sime schilte, ist uns gesagt,
truoc in manec riter wunt
anz mer ûf einen tragmunt
verre über ein heide.
si sâhen an im leide.

The account in Aliscans is quite different and there is no reference to his being carried off the field. (cf. Al. 6008—6013.)

35. The meaning of the next reference depends on whether we follow Leitzmann's punctuation or Lachmann's. Wolfram is describing the final rout of Terramêr's forces.

437, 26 der admirât nû dolte
von den rœmschen fürsten schande.
sine kûnege ûz mangem lande,
man swuor dâ bî ir hulde niht, (.)
als uns diz mære dannen giht. (.)
von hêrren von mâgen beiden
schiet ân urloup manec heiden
von strîtes überlaste.

36. A few lines further on another picture of the distracted state of the heathen is given:

438, 16 etslichem esklîr man noch giht,
er vrâgte wênic mære
umb sinen marnære.
da muosen kûnege selbe varn,
wolten si den lîp bewarn,
etsliche ân segel ûf gezogn.

The first passage is negative and implies no corresponding statement in the source. The second passage, we may suppose, was suggested to Wolfram by the following lines:

Al. 6797 N'i a vaissel qui ne soit estoûs,
Fors un tot seul qui en est eschapés.
En cel entra li fors rois Desramés
Et Sinagons et .v. rois coroné.
Traient lor ancre, s'ont lor voiles levé;
a En mer s'apoignent, sont de terre esquipé.

These thirty-six references may be divided into four classes viz:

A. References which are so general or so negative in character that they hardly imply a specific correspondence in the French source of Willehalm; such are 1, 2, 3, 8, 21, 25, 29, 35, eight in all.

B. Specific references which seem to demand a specific correspondence and for which none can be found; such are 4, 5, 22, 24, 26, 33, 34, seven in all.

C. Specific references that are explicable by accounting:

a) „âventiure“ to refer to Wolfram's personal inspiration alone, and not to his French source: such are 6, 10; or b) „diz mære“ to mean Wolfram's composition alone and not his French source; such is 27. Three in all.

D. Specific references that find a parallel in:

a) some metrical version of Aliscans; such are 7, 9, (10?), 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, (20?), 23, (28?), (30?), (31?), (32?), (36?): nine (plus seven?);

b) some later prose version of Aliscans, but not in any extant metrical version; such are 12, (19?): one (plus one?)

c) some branch of the Guillaume d'Orange cycle, but not any version of Aliscans; such are 12, 13, (19?): two (plus one?).

Some of these parallels are dubious and therefore in parenthesis. It is interesting to see that two of the possible three parallels in other branches of the cycle are connected with the only two possible parallels in the later prose versions.

It should be noted also that the parallels are clearer for the first half of the poem than for the second. Is this not an argument for believing that Wolfram no longer had his source at his disposal till about the point where the parallels become less exact? We cannot, however, assume that he did have it up to that point. We have no method of measuring the exact strength of his memory, it may have carried many of the earlier parallels, but it seems to weaken at about the beginning of the second

battle, if the version of Aliscans that he used, was at all similar to those we know.

Three of the above references seem to indicate that Wolfram takes a critical attitude towards his source. The first case is in the description of Willehalm's dress, when he reached the monastery on his way from Orleans to Montlaon. Wolfram has enlarged upon the costliness of his shield, his tunic and now comes to his mantle. He goes on:

Wh. 125, 20 Cristjâns ein alten tymît
im hât ze Munlêûn an gelegt; (,)
dâ mit er sine tumpheit regt,
swer sprichet sô nâch wâne.
er nam dem Persâne
Arofel, der vor im lac tôt,
daz friwendîn friwende nie gebôt
sô spæher zimierde vlîz;
wan die der kûnec Feirafîz
von Secundilln durch minne enpfîenc:
diu kost für alle koste gienc.

If we had no *chanson de geste* closely corresponding to Willehalm, this passage might lead us to believe that Chrestien de Troies was the author of Wolfram's text. There is no other evidence that Chrestien ever treated this subject, and it seems more likely that Wolfram ascribed the poem to him, because he wished to call the author of Aliscans by name, and knew no better name to give him than that of the most famous French poet of the time.

It is possible that he did not mean Chrestien de Troies, and that Wolfram's text had already lost its characteristics as an anonymous *chanson de geste* and really bore the signature of some „Chrestien“. It is also possible to imagine that Wolfram knew two traditions and accepted one and rejected the other.

Aliscans as we have it, contains what seems to be the statement to which Wolfram objects.

Aliscans Laisse LXIII 2317 ff. Guillaume dismounts at the

entrance to the palace at Montlaon. The onlookers fear him. One of them goes and tells the king of his arrival. He describes his personal appearance, his horse and his costume, and in lines 2343—4 he says:

„Si a vestu un mavais siglaton
Et par deseur un hermin pelichon“.

Wolfram's argument that this could not be true, because the hero had on the glorious adornments taken from the dead Arofel, is not very strong, since he, like Aliscans, causes the heathen to recognize his hero by the „hermin pelzelin“ worn under his armor and hanging down behind.

The French poem reads 1437—1439

Mais li païen ont veü son hermin
Et ses .ii. cauces, ki furent de sanguin;
Par chou percurent, n'estoit pas leur voisin.

and 1443—1449

Li Sarrasin sont de pute maniere;
Marchis Guillaume connurent par derire.
Voient l'ermine, ki pent vers l'estriviere,
Et de sa cauce ert rote la lanierie,
Cele de fer, dont la maille estoit chiere,
Sor lesperon ert reversée arire;
La cauce pert, ki n'estoit pas entire.¹⁾

When Guillaume leaves Orange he, puts on the tunic of the slain Arofel to be sure, Al. 2012—2021

¹⁾ cf. Wh. 78, 23 Arofel der rîche
streit genendeclîche:
er bejagt ê werdekeit genuoc.
daz ors mit hurte in nâher truoc,
daz die riemen vorme knie
brâsten dort unde hie:
ame lendenier si entstricket wart
von der hurteclîehen vart,
Diu îserhose sanc ûf den sporn: etc.

An example of a change of rôle, the same incident ascribed to a different person (cf. below.)

Et li quens s'arme sans nule demoree :
En son dos a une broigne jete,
Cele au paien, qu'il ocist en la pree,
Molt par est rice, de fin or est safree.
Quant li quens l'ot vestue et endossee,
Son elme lace sor la coiffe bendee
A .xiii. las d'une soie goutee,
Ainc n'ert plus rice dusqu'a la Mer Betee,
C'est Aerofle des puis de Valfondee.

We find another description of these same objects in a part of the poem which closely precedes the description of Arofel's sword, a passage translated almost word for word by Wolfram. Laisse XXXVII 1171 ff.

De chieres armes ot son cors adoubé
1 Et en son dos un blanc hauberc safré.
2 Totes les manches et le cors ot ollé
3 De chieres pierres, qui gietent grant clarté.
4 En son chief ot un chapel enfermé
5 De cuir de tacce bien bolli et serré
6 Et par desore son vert elme gemé
7 A .xxx. laz, qui soz sont boutonné.

Did Wolfram consider these passages in contradiction with Al. 2343—4? Did he perhaps prefer to have his hero arrive in all this heathen magnificence? There is no real contradiction in Aliscans, for in laisse LXII 2282—3, immediately after Guillaume has left the monastery, we are told that he packed his helmet and his haubert, and in line 2308 it is again implied that he had removed his armor, and 2300—2301 that his garments were torn.

2282 Li quens Guillames pensa de l'esplottier
Son elme torse en son hauberc doblie
2300 Si garnement n'estoient pas entier,
Ains sont derout et devant et derier,
Chainte ot l'espee dont li poins est d'or mier.
2308 S'il fust armés, bien samblast soudoier.

The messenger Sanses in his description reports to the king

Al. 2336—2340 Uns haumes pent devant a son aréon,
 Derriere trosse son hauberc fremillon,
 Mais n'a entor forrel ne gambison.
 Blance est la maille assés plus d'auketon
 Et s'en y a de rouge com carbon.

Wolfram states that Wilhelm arrived in full armor, and only lets him remove his helmet after he has dismounted in the courtyard.

Wh. 127, 11—30 er nam den zoum in eine hant,
 den tiweren helm von im er bant
 und sturzt in zuo zim ûfez gras.
 swaz al der massenie was,
 die begunden an in schouwen,
 in den venstern ouch die frouwen,
 wand im daz harnasch wonte mite.
 si jâhn, ez wære ein vremder site,
 daz er wâpen solde tragen,
 sine hörten denne al êrste sagen
 daz ein turney wære genomn:
 swelh ritter dâ hin wolde komn,
 der möhtz wol legen ûf einen soum.
 der marcrâve et sinen zoum
 het in der hende aldâ er saz.
 er begunde sich dô entwâpen baz
 von dem hersniere:
 daz zôch er von im schiere:
 dô was sîn vel nâch râme var,
 bart und hâr verworren gar.

The report to the king in Willehalm lays stress on his battle-stained and begrimed appearance and also on the richness of his costume.

The principal contradiction between the French and German versions, for which we can only surmise a reason, is that he is armed in Willehalm on his arrival at court, unarmed in Aliscans. My judgment would be, not that Wolfram's version of Aliscans differed at this point from ours, nor that he knew two different versions, but that he wished to make the cold reception which Wilhelm finds, more reasonable. Wilhelm has transgressed court customs by arriving at the palace in armor.

The second passage is Nro. 15 on the foregoing list. We might not recognize it as a criticism of his source, if we did not compare it with the corresponding passages in Aliscans. The situation in Willehalm is as follows. The queen has escaped from her brother's wrath to her apartments. Willehalm tells his father of his losses, his mother incites those present to assist him. Willehalm bursts out into imprecations against the sister who has received his entreaties for help with cold scorn.

Wh. 152, 28 dem marcrâven zorn gebôt
daz er dennoch sîne swester schalt,
diu etswâ unschulde enkalt.

153, 1 Die minne veile hânt, diu wîp,
rœmscher kûneginne lîp
wart dick nâch in benennet.
die namn het ich bekennet,
ob ich die wolte vor iu sagen:
nû muoz ich si durh zuht verdagen.
er schalt se et mære denne genuoc.
ob er ie manheit getruoc,
oder ob er ie gedâhte
daz er sîn dienst brâhte
durch herzen gir in wîbe gebot,
ob er freude oder nôt
ie enpfîenc durh wîbes minne,
an sînem manlichem sinne
was doch diu kiusche zuht betrogen.
ê wart nie rîter baz gezogen
und âne valsch sô kurtoys.
er jach, Tybalt der Arâboys
wære ir rîter manegen tac.
,dem werden kûnege ouch si wol mac
bieten êr mit minnen lône.
er hât si dicke schône
mit armen umbevangen. etc.'

In Aliscans the situation is not quite the same. The accusations are made before the flight of the queen.

Guillaume has related his losses and Guiborc's plight to his father and adds that, when he came for help to Louis, he was

coldly received, and that he will punish, before he leaves, both the king

Et ma seror le putain mescreant (Al. 2689).

In the following *laisse* the situation is described again.

Guillaume makes an indignant appeal to the king, who responds to it. The queen thinks the king promises too much and curses the promise of help.

Guillaume turns upon her:

2772 „Tas toi“, dist-il, „pute lise provee!
Tiebaus d'Arrabe vos a asoignantee
Et maintes fois com putain defolee

He goes on accusing her of sensuality and of the luxury which makes her forget the sufferings of others, and (line 2795) again calls her

Mavaise fame, pute lise provee.

It is after these insults that he lays hands on her and she flees.

A comparison of the French and German indicates in my opinion that the French text used by Wolfram contained these, or similar violent expressions, and that Wolfram refuses to repeat what he found there.

The blame that he gives his hero, shows Wolfram's disapproval of his brutal behavior. Wolfram thinks it necessary later to defend Willehalm against criticism from others.

163, 4 swenne ich nu rede gelerne,
sô sol ich in bereden baz,
war umbe er sîner zuht' vergaz,
dô diu kûnegîn sô brogte,
daz er si drumbe zogte.
des twanc in minne und ander nôt
unde mâge und manne tôt.

The third passage is a remonstrance against exaggeration in describing the feats of heroes in general and may possibly be construed as excited by an exaggeration in Wolfram's Old French

source at a corresponding point in the narrative. The lines in question describe the violence of the second battle of Aliscans.

384, 18 uf Alischanz dem velde sleht
 sölh strit mit swerten geschach,
 swaz man von Etzeln ie gesprach
 und ouch von Ermenriche,
 ir strit wac ungeliche.
 ich hör von Witegen dicke sagn,
 daz er eins tages habe durchslagn
 ahtzeihen tûsnt, als einen swamp,
 helme. der als manec lamp
 gebunden für in trüege,
 ob ers eins tages erslüege,
 sô wær sin strit harte snel,
 ob halt beschorn wærn ir vel.
 Man sol dem strîte tuon sin reht:
 da von diu mære werdent sleht.

We cannot trace any direct correspondence to this in the French, and also this passage may somewhat strengthen the argument for a different version, which served Wolfram as guide. On the other hand there are many strong statements in Aliscans, which by their repetition may have impressed Wolfram as exaggerated.

This passage in Willehalm belongs of course to San Marte's class three (cf. above), and could not have found a parallel in the French ¹).

To sum up Wolfram's direct references to his source; we may safely say that the majority of such references are sufficiently accounted for by the material in extant metrical versions of Aliscans, but that there are a few specific references which seem to demand a specific correspondence, (if his appeals to authority are

¹) San Marte in his above cited work pp. 20 ff. gives six classes of passages in Willehalm which he feels must be original with Wolfram: 1) The introductory prayer and dedication of the work, 2) the references to his own Parzival, 3) the allusions to German legendary heroes and mythology, 4) the allusions to German poets, 5) the German geographical names, 6) allusions to gaming with dice.

to be taken at their full value) and for which no source has been found. Again there are a very few for which we can find suggestion in the cycle or in later prose versions of Aliscans, but not in the metrical versions.

On the whole we feel inclined to give some weight to his assertion of having the facts from an authority, but we realize that it is impossible to depend for proof of what was in his version of Aliscans on such assertions on his part, unless we have other proofs to substantiate his statements.

II.

To what degree is it probable that Wolfram had heard or read other branches of the cycle to which Aliscans belongs?

The branches of the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange, other than Aliscans, which have been thought to have any points of contact with Willehalm are „li Nerbonois“, „le departement Aymeri“, „Guibers d'Andrenas“, „le siege de Barbastre“, „Coronnement Loois“, „Charroi de Nimes“, „Prise d'Orange“, „Covenans Vivien“, „Moniage Guillaume“¹⁾.

A. The three epics, li Nerbonois, le departement Aymeri, Guibers d'Andrenas are involved in the statements made by Wolfram in Willehalm 5, 16 to 6, 30:

Von Narbôn cuns Heimrich
alle sîne süne verstiez,
daz er in bürg noch huobe liez,
noch der erde dechein sîn rîcheit.
ein sîn man sô vil bî im gestreit,
unz er den lîp bî im verlôs:
des kint er zeime sune erkôs.
er het ouch den selben knaben

¹⁾ „Enfances Guillaume“ was supposed by Jonckbloet to have a point of contact with Wh. 7, 23—26, but this passage has been differently interpreted since. cf. Nassau-Noordewier l. c. p. 7 and notes.

durch triwe üz der toufe erhaben.
er bat sîn süne kèren,
und selbe ir rîcheit mêren,
in diu lant, swâ si möhten:
ob si ze dienste iht tōhten,
stieze in diu sælde rehtiu zil,
si erwurben rîches lōnes vil.
6, 1 „Welt ir urborn den lîp,
hōhen lōn hânt werdiu wîp:
ir vindet ouch etswâ den man
der wol dienstes lōnen kan
mit lêhen und mit anderm guote.
hin ze wîbn nâch hōhem muote
sult ir die sinne rihten
und an ir helfe phlihten.
der keiser Karl hât vil tugent:
iur starken lîbe, iur schōene jugent,
die antwurt in sîn gebot.
des muoz in wenden hōhiu nôt,
ern rîche iuch immer mêre:
sîn hof hât iwer êre.
dem sult ir diens sîn bereit:
er erkennet wol iur edelkeit.“
diz was sîn wille und des bater:
sus schieden si sich von ir vater.
lât mich iu die helde nennen,
daz ir geruochet si erkennen.
daz eine was Gwillâms,
daz ander Bertrams.
sus was genant sîn dritter sun:
der clâre sūeze Buovûn.
Heimrîch hiez der vierde,
des tugent vil lande zierde.
Arnalt und Bernart
die muosen an die selben vart.
der sibende der hiez Gybert:
der was ouch hōfsch unde wert.

This episode bears a striking likeness to passages in the Nerbonois (laisses I to XVII) and to a part of the theme of Guibers d'Andrenas.

„Nerbonois“ opens with a description of the Easter festival

at Charlemagne's court at Paris and of Aymeri's court at Nerbone.

Aymeri calls his seven sons and addresses them as follows;

Li Nerbonois (edited by H. Suchier, in the series of the Société des anciens textes français) 1, 37:

„Enfant“, fet il, „norri vos ai maint jor;
Chascun de vos vaut un empereor.
De ce lou Dieu le pere criator,
C'un roi vaut bien de vos toz le menor,
Mes d'une chose le tien ge a folor:
Que atandanz vos voi ci a m'anor.
Ainz de la terre qui fu mon ancessor
Ne vos tenir demi pie ne plain dor,
Ainz m'an alai servir un bon segnor,
Charle de France, le riche empereor,
Qui me dona Nerbone et ceste anor.
Bien l'ai tenue contre gent paienor.
S'or departoie en .VII. ceste contor,
Petite part en serait la gregnor.
No ferai pas! Porchaciez autre anor!
Alez en France — soiez conquereor —
A Charle Maigne le riche ampereor,
Si con je fis quant j'ere poigneor,
Que par la foi que doi saint salveor,
Ja ne tendroiz demi pie de m'anor!
Guibert l'avra, car il est le menor,
Et je li ai donee“.

Laisse II repeats the description of the situation, and Aymeri repeats his speech with variations; lines 85 to 94 afford a little new material for comparison with Wolfram:

A vos le di, Bernart, q'estes l'aisné;
N'atendez mie partie en m'erité,
Einz an alez an France le regné
Servir Charlon le fort roi queroné.
Donra vos terre se le servez a gré;
Que, par la foi que doi saint Anoré,
Ja de la moie en tretot mon aé
N'avroiz qui vaille un denier moneé.
Guibert li jones l'avra en erité,
Ne li retoudré mie!

Laisse III recounts Hermanjart's sorrow at the dismissal of her sons and lets Aymeri tell how he obtained his fief. Then follows:

126—158 Por ce vos di, se Dex me beneïe,
 Segnor anfant, que n'i atendez mie,
 Et vos, Bernart, ja n'i avroiz partie;
 Li ainznez estes de tote ma megnie.
 Alez servir an France la garnie,
 Vos et Guillames a la chiere hardie,
 Et Hernaut soit en vostre compagnie!
 Dites Charlon a la barbe florie
 Que Aymeris li mande et si li prie
 Que vos soiez pers de sa baronie
 Et conseillers de sa chambre voltie;
 Et l'orifamble doint Guillaume en baillie,
 Et si la port en bataille fornie;
 Et a Ernaut doint la seneschaucie
 De la vitaille et de la menentie;
 Par lui soit tote donee et departie;
 Asez an doint, mes qu'il ne la gast mie!
 Cil. .III. mestier an France la garnie
 Ont desor autres tote la segnorie.
 Si servez Charle a la barbe florie
 Si lealment que chascun bien en die,
 Et anorez la riche baronie,
 Les filz au contes et la chevalerie;
 Puis vos seront vers Charlon en aïe
 Et proieront lealment sans envie
 Que il vos doint riche terre en baillie
 Et a chascun mollier mout segnorie.
 A vos le di, Bernarz; que c'est folie
 Qui atendez de Nerbone partie.
 Foi que doi Dieu, al filz sainte Marie,
 Ja n'en avroiz vaillesant une alie!
 Guibert l'avra; ne li retodrai mie.
 A celui la claim quite“.

The disinheritance therefore applies only to six of the seven sons in Nerbonois, which gives us reason to think that it was not the source of Wolfram's information.

It is incredible that Wolfram should have happened to in-

vent so unusual a story with so strong a likeness to the stories in other branches of the cycle without a suggestion from somewhere. On the other hand Wolfram shows complete ignorance of Garin the seventh brother of Guillaume in the „Nerbonois“, and does not recognize Guibers d'Andernas as Guillaume's brother, although he mentions „Scherins de Pantali“ (160, 10 etc.). He must have known that Willehalm and Scherins were brothers, had he known either of the poems we have mentioned. It should be said that Li Nerbonois stands much nearer Wh. than the two versions which also treat of the dismissal of Aymeri's sons by their father, and which are called „le departement Aymeri“. These two versions are called D and E in Suchier's edition of li Nerbonois, vol. II.

Three possible explanations are: first, that Wolfram knew a different version of this branch of the cycle which contained the story nearly or quite as he gives it.

Second: Wolfram received, either at the same time that he received Aliscans, or earlier, some abbreviated accounts of the subject matter of other branches of the cycle, besides Aliscans, but did not hear the poems themselves.

Third: This matter formed a part of Wolfram's version of Aliscans.

Two proper names and a longer passage in the „Nerbonois“ speak in favor of Wolfram's having known a version of that poem. Suchier calls attention to both the names and the other lines in his introduction; the names are found in Nerbonois 3825,

Antre Esplendoine et Malprinet Borrel.

The other resemblance to Willehalm is in a curious passage in which an allusion is made by the „admirat“ to his rights to the city of Narbonne. Julius Caesar is brought in, as having avenged the death of the admirat's murdered grandfather, and Popee is mentioned as uncle of Fenices, a leader of the Romans against the Bretons and their king Salemon.

The connection in which these names are used, has reminded Suchier of Willehalm 428,14 „Daz ein sin (i. e. Purrel's) sun Malprimes“ (var **m** Malprimes) and of 338,25—339,2 „ûf rœmisch krône sprich ich sus: der edele Pompœius, von des geslâht ich bin erborn“, etc.

The name „Malprimes“ is to be found also in the Rolandsliet, with which Wolfram seems to have been familiar. It is only the conjunction of the name with that of Borrel, the only time that the latter name occurs in „Nerbonois“, that would favor the theory of Wolfram's acquaintance with a version of this poem.

The other passage is too confused and unmeaning in its present form to have offered more than the point of departure for Wolfram's passage, but it may have been more comprehensible in an earlier version.

The amirant has just laid claim before his own princes to Narbone and bases it as follows:

3701—3722 Li rois Gaudins la tint, qui la fonda,
 Cil de Palerne qui mon père engendra,
 C'un traïtor en sa chambre tua.
 Gile Cesaïre le prist, si l'an vancha.
 Onques an France bataille ne trova
 Jusqu'a la Puille, a l'antree de ça,
 O Breton erent asamblé grant pieç'a.
 A ces josterent: li estors tant dura,
 Le diemenche tant que il avespra,
 Et le lundi ansi recomença,
 Tant que Fenices ilecques devia;
 Nies fu Popee, cil qui sa gent quia,
 Rois Salemon sa gent reconforta,
 Breton se hastent, con Fenice fina,
 Sor les Romains chacun s'evertua;
 Forment il fierent, tant con li jors dura.
 Li Romain virent que rien ne lor vaudra,
 Les dos tornerent; li anchaux commença,
 Mout longuement Salemons les chaça.
 Mout en ocist et mout pris en mena!
 En sa prisson toz les mist et gista,
 Com il vint en sa terre.

As Suchier (p. XLIII) says: „Tout n'est pas clair dans cet étrange récit. L'assassinat semble avoir été commis à l'instigation de Salemon. On pencherait à croire que cette histoire est un produit de la fantaisie de notre poète. Il faut cependant qu'elle ait un fondement dans une tradition quelconque; car dans un passage du Willehalm de Wolfram von Eschenbach (338,28) Ter-ramér (Desramé) base ses prétentions à l'empire romain sur sa descendance de Pompée“. In a note he adds „Ce Pompée n'a rien à faire avec un Pompée de Babylone que Wolfram distingue de celui de Rome. Les recherches que j'ai faites pour éclaircir ce point sont restées sans résultats“.

If these two passages are to be given any weight, they would be all in favor of the theory that Wolfram knew a different version of a branch of the cycle, which contained the story nearly or quite as he gives it, because a short verbal summary of the poem would not give these small details, a name (Borrel) mentioned only once, and a speech which has no bearing on the progress of the story. The story of the disinheritance, if it formed a part of Aliscans, would not involve the mention of either Malprin nor Popee. Of course we may suppose these other passages to have been woven into a version of Aliscans also.

It may also be said that certain passages (Nerbonois 146 ff. for instance) are wonderfully similar to the passage quoted from Willehalm. But on the other hand there are lines before and after these with which Wolfram evidently had no acquaintance. Certain it is that Wolfram knew: 1. that Heinrich had seven sons, whereas in Aliscans he has only six¹); 2. that he disinherited them, of which there is no mention in Aliscans; 3. that he dismissed them and bade them go to Charlemagne,

¹) Saltzmann (p. 4) maintains that Aymeri has seven sons in Aliscans, he finds the 7th in line 4635 and reads Guichars d'Andernas, neither Guessard (Guessard has „Guibers d'Andrenas“) nor Rolin nor the new edition give any excuse for this. It must have been a misprint in Jonckbloet (4894).

who would reward them with lands, nothing of the kind in Aliscans; 4. that he adopted a godchild in their place, also a blank in Aliscans.

Another reason for believing that Wolfram did not know the Nerbonois, is that, if he had heard the story of Garin as told there, he would have known Garin to be one of Guillaume's brothers.

Suchier: li Nerbonois VII. 201—215:

Biaulz fils Garin, ne leraï ne vos die,
Endroit de vos le tien ge a folie
Et a orgueil et a grant estoltie
Qui atendez de Nerbone partie.
Ja n'en avroiz vaillesant une alie!
Non pas por ce que n'aiez grant baillie
Et riche terre et mout grant menentie:
Venez avant, si recevez Pavie!
El est vostre oncle, s'avroiz la segnorie;
Roi Boniface serviroiz sans boidie,
Car il n'ot onques nul enfant en sa vie;
Qant il morra, lera vos Lombardie,
Si tandroiz Pyse, cele cité garnie,
Et le païs desi a Romenie.
Asez avroiz richece.

Aymeris gives him the above advice, and 1404 ff. we hear how he carried it out, winding up with l. 1650—3:

Mout fu Garin et sajes et cortois;
Mout le tient chier et anore li rois;
Tote sa terre, ainz que passast li mois,
Li ot il mis a bandon et a chois.

We meet Uncle Boniface and Garin again at Paris where Charlemagne knights the latter along with his brothers. LXXXII. 3186—9. Garin is called Garin d'Anseüne in lines 6087, 6701 7240. In line 6087 Garin d'Anseüne does not appear to be Aymeri's son, but in the two other places it is clear that he is. In the other versions of the story called *departement Aymeri* (mss. *d* and *E* in Suchiers edition) Garin is sent by his father to Duc

Naymon de Baviere instead of to Lombardy; there he obtains the duke's daughter to wife, and becomes lord of Ansetüne.

If Wolfram had known all this, would he not have noticed Aliscans 2961?

Ensemble od lui Garins de Lombardie¹).

Wolfram gives 160, 9—10

ganc mit ir, Buov von Komarzi
und Schêrins von Pantalî.

The corresponding lines in Aliscans read:

2958 Par la roïne a molt tost envoïe
.ii. cevaliers, ki sont de Pontierlie.
Et s'i ala li dus de Hongherie,
Ensemble od lui Garins de Lombardie²).

It looks as if Wolfram remembered the „.ii. cevaliers“ de Pontarlie and Gerins (which probably stood in his source) and gave as the other name that of one of the queen's brothers, who would have been a suitable person to send. Would he have passed over the name and title, Gerins de Lombardie, without comment, if it were the same as name and title of one of Guillaume's brothers in a poem that he had read?

It may be said that, if the name stood in one place with soft G and in the other with hard G, that he may not have recognized the name; but Wolfram plays the changes himself on Guibert and Schilbert. cf. Wh. 146, 19 and 6, 29.

The other passages in Nerbonois which bear on Wolfram's knowledge of this poem, are two concerning Guibert and his inheritance, his resistance to his fathers desire, and Aymeri's threat.

¹) The variants are: od lui] *MLTb* o eus; Garins] *d* Garner, *C* li quens, *M* Giell.; de Lomb.] *L* Chiere hardie, *ATb* de la Gastie.

²) 2959 ii. cev.] *ATb* .x. cev. *M* Des c.; de Pont.] *m* de Pont herlie *M* Port arlie *ATbLC* de sa mesnie *e* de baronie. 2960—1 *e* lacking. 2960. *m* li d. de Hongherie] *ATb* li dus de Normandie *L* .i. d. de Norm.

Li Nerbonois IX 263—280.

„Biaulz filz Guibert“, ce dist li quens cortois,
 „Que que je die, vos n'en iroiz des mois,
 En cest palès remanroiz maonois.
 Il est escrit es ancianes lois,
 Sel comenda Alixandre li rois
 Et Juliant Cesaire le cortois,
 Que li puisnez doie avoir les menoirs.
 Vostre ert Nerbone et tot le Biaulandois,
 Et tandroiz Janvres et tot le Jenevois,
 .IIII. citez et chastiaux .xxiii.,
 Mener porroiz mil homes a harnois.
 Tant con vivrai, ceanz me servirois
 Et Hermanjart qui vos porta .ix. mois;
 Par la main destre a Saint Pol la menrois“.
 „Sire“, fet-il, „vostre plesir ferois;
 Mes de mes freres sui iriez et destrois,
 Qui vont en autre terre“.

XIII. 375—394.

Endemantiers que la dame au cler vis
 Disoit au conte ce que li ert a vis,
 Par le palès vint errant Guibelins,
 Mout correciez et tristes et pansis,
 O voit son père, si l'a a reson mis:
 „Biau sire père, par le cors saint Denis,
 Or voi ge bien que tenuz sui par vis,
 Con d'autor moi en chassiez mes amis
 Que je deüsse servir en cest país
 Et essaucier et anorer toz dis.
 Mes, par la foi que doi a Jesucrist,
 Ne serai riches por que soient mendis;
 Ainz m'en irai essilliez et eschis.
 Ja nes leraï tant con je soie vis“.
 „Tez, gl oz lechierres!“ dist li quens poëstis.
 „Par ce Segnor qui pardon fist Longis,
 S'estoies ore ausi granz com aus sis,
 Ja ne tandroies plain pie de mon país.
 Ençois l'avroit mes fillex Aymeris“.

There is a fourth reason for thinking that Wolfram was not acquainted with this branch of the poem in its present form, and that is that Suchier in his introduction to his edition t. II. p. LVI

says that its linguistic characteristics would prevent dating it earlier than 1210; also on page VIII he thinks that line 394, where Aimeri speaks of the godson to whom he will perhaps leave his fief, is a later addition, as it stands in contradiction with his repeated declarations.

If we turn to Guibert d'Andrenas, do we fare better? The poem is still unpublished. According to Bédier, Densusianu dates it (in *Prise de Cordres* p. CXLIII) about 1185. Bédier: *Les Legendes Epiques .I. Le cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* p. 56 ff. gives an analysis of the story of Guibers' disinheritance as follows:

„Quand Aimeri avait congédié ses fils, il avait gardé auprès de lui le dernier-né Guibelin: c'est, disait-il, qu'il lui réservait sa terre en héritage. Les années ont passé. Un jour que Guibelin est en expédition au loin en Espagne, le vieillard déclare à Ermenjart qu'il s'est choisi un autre héritier, un sien filleul, Aymeriet. Guibelin rentre dans Narbonne, les armes souillées, les membres fatigués, ayant donné la chasse aux païens de Tudèle et ramenant un riche convoi de prisonniers. C'est pour apprendre de son père que comme ses aînés, il est à son tour déshérité. „Mais, lui dit son père, je te donne un beau fief, Andernas, la ville aux cent tours et aux cent palais de marbre. Elle est au roi Judas, il est vrai; mais va la prendre.“ Guibert s'irrite:

'Oez, baron, ce dist Guibers li ber,
Comme mes pere me veult desheriter !
A un estrange veult sa terre donner,
Et si me donne Andrenas sor la mer,
Ou Charlemainnes n'osa onques aler.
Vieus est mes peres, si a son tans usé:
Mien escient uit vint ans a passez;
De son palais ne se puet remuer,
Sus quatre coutes le convient reposer
Et oreilliers de soie et de cendel
Et covertoirs qui sont gris et fourré.
Tant de coussins convient sus li doubler

Nes porroit on de vint mars acheter!
Par devant lui fait sa messe chanter
Et puis se fet a mengier apporter
Grues et jantes et paons empevrez:
Tant en mengue qu'il a cras les costez,
Tout pour son cuer qu'il velt resvigourer . . .
— Tais, glous lechierres, dist Aymeris li ber.
De mon séjour que avez a parler?
Je le conquis dedans mon josne aé.
Se je m'aaise et faz mes volentés
Le volez faire aussi? Si conquezrez'.

D'ailleurs, ajoute-t-il, vous qui raillez mon grand âge, sachez que je partirai avec vous, en armes:

Si passerons Leride et Balesgués,
Tant que verrons Andrenas la cité.
Dehors la ville ferai mil cors soner.'"

Is it possible that Wolfram could have read this and yet have failed to understand who „Schilbert Tandernas“ could be? Would it be possible for Wolfram to have read Li Nerbonois and still not to know that Garin was the name of the seventh son of Aymeri? Could Wolfram entirely overlook the making over of the estate to Guibert three times repeated? and place in its stead the one line of suggestion Nerbonois 394 „encois l'avroit mes fillex Aymeris“, without an allusion to what was so much more prominent?

Two things are clear, first, Wolfram neither read nor heard „li Nerbonois“, as we have it.

Second: he did hear or read something which contained the statements of the disinheritance, the dismissal, the advice to go to Charlemagne for lands and ladies, the substitution of a god-child as heir. If we assume that Wolfram knew a branch of the cycle from which he drew this story, it must have differed from all three extant versions of this story in the French and from the sequel, Guibers d'Andrenas, in at least the following respects:

1. the son Garin was not mentioned by name or was called Bertram, and

2. Guibers was not excepted from the fate of his brothers and he did not conquer Andernas.

The great similarity of Wh. 5, 25—6, 16 with Aymeris' charge to his sons in the passages quoted would lead one to think that Wolfram had heard similar lines, but is it easier to assume an earlier version of Nerbonois with Bertram in Garin's place, with Guibers already disinherited, and no fief suggested to him by his father, or to think that the story of the Nerbonois and of Guibers d'Andrenas had been summarized by the author of Wolfram's version and put by him into much the same form that we find it in Willehalm? If Suchier is right in his judgment that the adoption of the godchild is a later addition to the story in li Nerbonois (introduction li Nerbonois vol. II p. VIII), we must admit Wolfram's knowledge of the poem called Guibers d'Andrenas, also in order to supply the facts in the German. Against the knowledge we have the strong argument of Wolfram's ignorance of the identity of this hero. Our only other refuge is to assume a very different version of the poems, or to believe that Wolfram came into contact with a person or persons who gave him a little of the subject matter of the poems. Would it be very strange to assume that Margrave Herman himself knew something of the cycle and talked with Wolfram about it? ¹⁾ and that Herman had his information from a Frenchman who had brought the book to Thuringia to Herman? That he roused his

¹⁾ Berchtold v. Holle's „Crane“ has as its source the tale his feudal lord Joh. v. Braunschweig told him at a date 40 years later, i. e. 1250—60 A.D.

Wirnt von Gravenberg, a contemporary of Wolfram's, wrote his Wigalois from the story told him by a squire.

Hartmann in his Iwein was acquainted with the story of Meleaganz perhaps only by hearsay.

interest in it by telling such features of the hero's story as he thought would excite curiosity or sympathy? May we not also suppose that Wolfram was somewhat familiar with the stories concerning Guillaume au cort nes, before Herman gave him a poem or poems to use? Since the oral promulgation of stories was very common in his time, it seems easy to believe that such an important hero was well-known to a man like Wolfram, who must have been eager to listen to all such tales when opportunity offered.

If we accept no sources for Wolfram except written ones, the evidence that Wolfram knew the story of the disinheritance in favor of a godchild before 1216 (the year of Herman v. T.'s death), would favor the theory of an earlier version of Nerbonois giving the godchild much more prominence and Guibert much less, or the theory that Wolfram's version of Aliscans had already blended the two stories.

Wolfram combines striking features of the two branches in this passage and is ignorant of equally important points. This inclines me to the belief that he obtained his information either by hearsay or from his version of Aliscans; at the same time I do not deny the possibility of his having known a version of Nerbonois strikingly different from ours. The possibility of an interpolated Aliscans will be discussed later.

B. The next branch of the cycle to be taken up is *Siège de Barbastre*. The poem contains one line which forms a point of contact with the two following passages from *Willehalm*.

111, 15—25 nu lac alumbe an der wer
almeistic töt ir kleine her.
eine kunst si dô gewan,
dazs ieslichem töten man
hieze helm ze houbte binden.
swaz man schilt moht vinden,
si wæren niuwe oder alt,
dâ mit die zinne wârn bestalt.

diene wancten niht durch zageheit:
den selben was lieb unde leit
iewederz al gelîche.

230, 5—11 — — ir wer mit liste erscheinde.
ir tôtez volc si leinde
gewâpent an die zinnen
und ruortez sô mit sinnen,
daz ez die ûzeren vorhten, (.)
die de antwerz gein ir worhten. (.)
arbeit het si verselwet nâch.

The interesting incident of Gybure's strategem of placing dead soldiers on guard on the walls, to deceive the enemy, finds no suggestion in Aliscans, but Fräulein Nassau Noordewier (l. c. p. 35) called attention to a passage in the *Siege de Barbastre*, a branch of the cycle which deals with the adventures of Bovon de Commarcis. The hero says to the messengers whom he is about to send into France:

„Vas me dirés mon pere Aymeri lou guerrier
Qu'il me vigne secore, car j'en ai mestier,
A .XXm. chevaliers, se il puet exploitier,
Ansin con ge fis lui a Nerbone l'autrier,
Cant assigié l'avoient li gloton losangier
Illoc fut si auquis an son palais plénier
Que il fist les mors homes désor les murs drecier.
A .Xm. chevaliers la li vin ge aidier
Et si trovai au siège de la gent l'aversion.
A icestes ansaignes, gardés no l'oblier,
Me vigne ores secorre en estranges renies
En la terre d'Espaigne.

(This poem is still unpublished. R. Weeks is preparing an edition. Bédier l. c. p. 45, note 4, tells us that Densuianu dates it at the beginning of the 13th century, in *Prise de Cordres*, p. XXXIV.)

Fräulein Nassau Noordewier finds a description of a similar stratagem in *Ogier le danois* (Gautier Ep. fr. III. 240 ff.) and notes that Nyrop-Gorra, *Storia del' Epopea francese nel medio*

evo (1888) p. 166, note, gives several instances including the legend of the siege of Carcassonne by Charlemagne (Gautier Ep. fr. I. p. 109).

Fräulein Nassau Noordewier then says l. c. p. 36 ff.: „We find however in connection with what stands in Wh., traces which indicate that such a stratagem was once related in Aliscans. These traces are to be found in *Storie Nerbonesi*. The parts of *Storia Nerbonesi* in which Aliscans is treated, lie far apart. They are in Isola's edition: vol. II, 150—175; v. I, 416—461; 497—518 and II, 481—528.

„If we compare the Italian tale with the Old French poem, we find important differences, it is true. These may be due to the compiler, but there is nevertheless a possibility that he used an older, lost version of Aliscans. Raymond Weeks has shown in the „*Messenger in Aliscans*“ that this was almost certainly the case. He has pointed out that various difficulties and contradictions in Aliscans have arisen on account of departure from the older tradition, which we find preserved in the *Storie Nerbonesi*. Reinhard (Die Quellen der Nerbonesi, Dissertation Halle 1900, S. 118 74) concludes that Andrea treated Aliscans on the whole according to the version which has descended to us. However that may be, the difficulties are remarkably cleared by the *Storie Nerbonesi*. The above mentioned stratagem is in a part of *Storie Nerbonesi* which certainly has Aliscans as its source. Guillaume has conquered Orange and is married to Gyburg. Tybalt has laid siege to Orange out of revenge, and the siege has lasted seven years. The distress in Orange is so great that they eat horses and grass. Their numbers also have greatly diminished, but „Guglielmo per mostrare a' nimici d'avere più gente, che non avia, facia empire l'armi di terra, e mostravali ora in una parte, e ora in un'altra. Ispesso egli facia muovere uno (cf. Wh. 230, 8) e mossollo, se ne muoveva più di venti, e quando mutava guardie, mutava arme, ed erano que' medesimi, e i Saracini credevano che fussino rinfrescati

le guardie“ (Storie Nerbonesi, Isola I, 436).

Bernhardt criticizes (Z. f. d. Ph. 34, 544): „Zwischen Gyburcs Kriegslist (W. 111, 15 und 230, 6), die bei der Belagerung von Oransche Tote bewaffnet auf die Mauer stellt, um die Feinde über die Zahl der Verteidiger zu täuschen, und der Willehalm, der in den Storie Nerbonesi Rüstungen mit Erde füllt und auf der Mauer hin und her schiebt, ist doch recht geringe Ähnlichkeit, ganz abgesehen von der Verschiedenheit der handelnden Personen.“

The passage in Storie Nerbonesi is certainly worthy of consideration. May Fräulein Nassau Noordewier's statement however be questioned that the compiler was telling the story of the subject matter of Aliscans in this passage?

The circumstances as she describes them, would relate to a period, previous to the battle of Aliscans, before the arrival of Desramés. Our branch of the cycle begins in the midst of that battle.

The feature of eating horses and grass suggests Cov. Viv.

Frl. Nassau Noordewier admits the improbability of a version of Aliscans which differed very largely from those we have.

The one line of siege de Barbastre which forms the point of contact with the story of Gyburc's stratagem in Willehalm, points to an older tradition of a similar story in the cycle and, together with the version of the Italian prose, forms an argument in favor of a version of Aliscans with such an incident.

It is impossible to decide whether we have here a case of an interesting coincidence, or whether there is a real relation between Willehalm and texts from which Storie Nerbonesi and Siege de Barbastre emanated.

I would, however, call attention to the fact that Wolfram appeals to „diz mære“ in one of the passages dealing with the story (230, 2 ff.) (cf. above).

A large number of striking coincidences may sufficiently in-

crease the weight of probability, so that the scale of our judgment will turn in favor of a version of Aliscans containing similar passages, or they may incline us to assume that Wolfram came in contact with someone who gave him a large amount of verbal information about other branches of the cycle.

C. *Coronnement Loöis* offers a few points of contact with *Willehalm*.

a) 1. The threats frequently expressed in that branch are:

ardeir en fu ne en eve neier

but in manuscript *D* line 229 occurs:

de pandre, d'ardoir ou de noier

which forms a parallel to the three deaths proposed to Gyburc by *Terramér*.

Wh. 109,22 er bôt ir driu dinc zêren,
daz si der einz næm mit der wal:
daz si in dem mere viel ze tal,
umb ir kel ein swæren stein,
ode daz ir fleisch unde ir bein
ze pulver wurden gar verbrant,
od daz si Tybaldes hant
solte hâhn an einen ast.

(cf. *Moniage Guillaume* below p. 105 ff.)

The burning and hanging mentioned here are not to be found in the corresponding passages of *Aliscans* 3994—3996.

Rois Desramés a sa barbe juree,
Ke Guibors ert a cevaus traïnee
Et en la mer noïee et esfondree.

and Al. 8330—8335

Rois Desramés a sa barbe juree
Qu'il ne laira por noif ne por gelee,
S'avra Guillaume l'arme dou cors sevre;
Et Guibors ert a cevaus traïnee,
Après sera en la mer affondree,
Une grant pierre entor le col noëe.

Willehalm in two passages does not preclude the idea of

the dragging by wild horses as well. Terramêr speaks in both cases.

44, 29—30 ich sols ûf einer hürde ê sehen,
diu furic sî: daz muoz geschehen.

108, 19—20 daz ich manege unkunde nôt
Arabeln gebe und smæhen tôt.

b) Six times occurs the formula which corresponds fairly well to Wolfram's expression concerning Willehalm's ride from Orange to Orleans.

Wh. 112, 3—5 ich enhân der zal niht vernomn,
wie maneges tages wære komn
ze Orlens der marcrâve unverzagt.

In Cor. Loöis we have in slightly varying form (lines 269, 279, 1448, 1451, 2053 and 2276):

De ses jornees ne sai que vos contasse.

cf. Aliscans 8202—3 and the French prose romance below¹⁾.

c) The most striking point of resemblance is that two heathen kings lay claim to Rome as Terramêr does.

Wh. 338, 15 durch die gote und durch die minne
nâch prises gewinne
sul wir noch hiute werben
alsô daz vor uns sterben
Lôys Romære,
dâ ich billicher wære
hêrre. ir hœrt michz lange klagn,
mîn houbt solt rœmisch krône tragn,
dar um mîn veter Baligân
verlôs manegen edelen man.
ûf rœmisch krône sprich ich sus:
der edel Pompeius,
von des geslâht ich bin erborn,
(ich enhân die vorderung niht vlorn)

¹⁾ The story of the nose Cor. Loöis 312, 1035—41, 1159—1164, 2516—2520, comes no nearer to the story in Willehalm 91, 27—92, 3 than does that in Aliscans 1643—1643^a and 4071—4074.

der wart von rœmscher krône vertribn.
zunrechte ist manec kûnc belibn
dâ sît uf minem erbe:
ich wænz noch manegen sterbe.'

Again the claim is spoken of a few lines farther on.

Wh. 340, 4 Terramêr den stuol dâ zAche
wolt besitzn und dan ze Rôme varn,
sinen goten pris alsô bewarn,
die Jêsus helfe wolde lebn,
daz die dem tôte wurde gegeben¹).
sus wold er rœmische krône
vor sinen goten schône
und vor der heidenschefte tragen.

and it is alluded to in

396, 22 nu mac die vart hinz Ache
mit êren mîden Terramêr.
al meist die rœmschen fûrsten hêr
sint gein im komn ûf Alischanz.
si woldn im kûnden, Vivianz
und der edele Mîle wærn erslagn:
wolt er ze Rôme krône tragn,
sô solt er in daz rihten,
wolt er zir dienste phlihten

and in

Wh. 450, 21 der admirât Terramêr
mit manegem richem kûnege hêr
wolte bringen al die sprâche
ûf den stuol hinz Ache
und dane ze Rôme fûeren.

and again

443, 26 daz klagete al sine kumenden zît
Terramêr der werde.
sus schiet von rœmscher erde
der dâ vor dicke ûf Rôme sprach
ê daz diu schumpfentiure geschach.

The two heathen kings in Coronnement Loois who make a similar claim are: first, Galafres in lines 462—466:

¹) siner gote.-wolden.-wæren (Leitzmann).

Respont li reis, Tu n'ies mie bien sages.
 Ci sui venuz en mon dreit eritage
 Que estora mes ancestres et mes aves,
 Et Romulus et Julius Cesaires,
 Qui fist cez murs et cez ponz et cez barres.

The second time it is Gui d'Alemaigne who speaks

line 2379 Laisse mei Rome, que c'est mes eritages
 line 2401 Laissiez li (= Gui) Rome que c'est ses eritages.

It is not to be inferred from these three points of resemblance that Wolfram had any acquaintance with this branch of the cycle. We may, however, draw from each point a conclusion.

First: that burning and hanging were probably mentioned by Desramés in his threats of punishment for Guiborg in Wolfram's version of Aliscans.

Second: that a formula similar to that in Cor. Loöis concerning the length of a journey probably was used in Wolfram's version of Aliscans to describe Guillaume's ride from Orange to Orleans. (A similar expression is used at this point in the French Prose Romance as quoted by Fräulein Nassau Noordewier l. c. p. 44—5 from Prosa Roman folio 380 ro.

„Puis s'en erst party et atant chevaulchie par ses journees des quelles l'istoire ne fait pour cause de la matiere abregier nulle mention, passant mons, rivieres et vaulx, que il est venu a Orleans“ etc.)

Third: that the claim of heathen kings to Rome as their rightful inheritance was not uncommon and was based on a supposed descent from ancient Roman heroes. We find it twice in Cor. Loöis, once in li Nerbonois (cf. above) and in several passages (concerning the same case) in Willehalm.

It seems probable that Wolfram found it in his source.

There are strong reasons for believing that Wolfram was not familiar with Coronnement Loöis. For instance in this branch

Guillaume gives the names of his six brothers and among them Garin and Guibert d'Andrenas.

line 823 Frere Guarin, qui tant fait a loer,

line 825 Frere Guibert d'Andernas le meinzné (cf. above).

D. Under this head are here set forth all passages in Willehalm which may be construed or have been construed as allusions to the Charroi de Nîmes.

1. Willehalm 298, 14—16

ich was sô lange ein koufman,

unz ich Nîmes gewan, die guoten stat,

mit wagen¹⁾.

These lines refer unmistakeably to the subject matter of the branch which bears this title. Are we therefore forced to admit that Wolfram had heard the poem?

The same three possibilities are before us as for Nerbonois and Guibers d'Andrenas: i. e. 1. that Wolfram knew a different version of some branch of the cycle which contained the story nearly or quite as he gives it; 2. that Wolfram received either at the same time that Aliscans was put at his disposal, or earlier (or possibly later), some abbreviated accounts of the subject matter of other branches of the cycle, but did not hear the poems themselves; 3. that the points of resemblance between Willehalm and Charroi de Nîmes formed a part of Wolfram's versions of Aliscans.

There are, however, some differences between the relation which Willehalm bears to Nerbonois and Guibers d'Andernas, and that which the German poem bears to Charroi de Nîmes:

first, we find less in Willehalm which would contradict Charroi, and we would not therefore necessarily suppose a different version of the poem, in case he had heard it, and second: we can bring forward more passages which may indicate a familia-

¹⁾ wagenen (Leitzmann).

rity with it. On the other hand there is nothing in Willehalm to prove that Wolfram had more than the kind of general acquaintance with it which might have been gathered without hearing it read. The few lines which prove an acquaintance with the subject matter, might have been incorporated in a possible version of Aliscans.

The other passages which speak in favor of his acquaintance with the poem, are:

2. Wh. 298, 11 des hân ich siben jâr gebiten.

cf. Char. 586 ff. Louis speaks to Guil. and says.

Tenez Espagne, prenez la par cest gant,
ge la vos doing par itel convenant:
se vos en croist ne paine ne ahan,
ci ne aillors ne t'en serai garant.
Et dit Guillaumes: et ge mielz ne demant,
fors seulement un secors en VII ans.
Dist Loös: je l'otroi bonement:
ge ferai, voir, tot le vostre commant.

3. Wh. 91, 24 der kûneginne vorhte riet,
daz sien marcrâven mante,
daz in doch wênic schante.

Char. 199 por ce m'appellent Guillaume au cort nes;
grant honte en ai quant vieng entre mes pers

1 to 3 were noted by San Marte and repeated by E. Bernhardt, Z. f. d. Ph. 32, 53 ff., who adds the following suggestions.

4. Wh. 297, 13—19

Mîn sweher ist ûf mich geritn,
den getouften wîben sint gesnitn
ab die brüste, gemarteret sint ir kint,

Char. 571 Mameles tordres as corteises moilliers.

5. Wh. 141, 22 sone wurder nimmer mêr bekant
decheinem Franzeise.
herverte und reise,
die gein Oransche sint erbeten,
die hânt Francriche erjeten
von der guoten rîterschaft.

- Char. 685 Des or sen vait Guillaumes li guerriers,
 en sa compaignie maint gentiz chevaliers,
 la flor de France vos a fait si vuidier.
6. Wh. 302, 11; 323, 13; 389, 6.
 Pitit Punt.
- Char. 28 par Petit-pont sont en Paris entré.
7. Schilbert 240, 26 and 249, 29.
 Char. 1018 Gillebers.
8. Táfar 74, 4.
 Char. 512. la pute gent Tafure.
9. Poy 34, 20.
 Char. 842. Puy.

I add one more citation, to which I have found a correspondence in Charroi de Nîmes.

10. Wh. 456, 25—457, 9 and 458, 11—14 and 460, 15—20
- dô der fluz sinr ougen regen
 het der zâher sô vil gephegen
 daz ir zal was unbekant,
 dô kom Bernart von Brubant:
 der strâfte in und nam in abe
 von siner grôzen ungehabe.
 Do der herzoge in trûrec sach,
 ze dem marcrâven er dô sprach
 'dû bist niht Heimriches suon,
 wiltu nâch wîbes siten tuon.
 grôz schade bedarf genendekeit.
 über al diz her wirt ze breit
 der jâmer durch dich einen.
 wiltu hie selbe weinen,
 reht als ein kint nâch der brust?
- 458, 11 nû haben¹⁾ manlichen muot!
 nâch dem²⁾ gelich denn maneger tuot
 den hie vil kumbers twinget
 und ouch mit jâmer ringet.
- 460, 15 iedoch stêt ez mir alsô:
 ich muoz gebâren, als ich vrô
 sî, des ich leider nicht enbin.
 ez ist des houbtmanes sin,
 daz er genendeclîche lebe
 und sime volke troesten gebe.

¹⁾ habe (Leitzmann).

²⁾ dir (Leitzmann).

Char. 808 ff. Do cuer de ventre commence a sospirer
De ses beas oilz commenca a plorer
L'eve l'an cole fil a fil so lou neis.
Que ses biaux en estoit arouvés.
Ses nies Bertran lou prist a regarder
Par maltalant l'an prist a apeler:
„A mal eür soit vostre guermanter!
Estes vos feme qui plore son amer,
Ou hons qui fuie son malveis seignorer?
Que par l'apostre que l'en doit aorer,
S'or estoit ci de France li barnés
Et vos veïst ansinques demanter
Ja les vairiés en France retorner!“
— „Biaus niés“, dist-il, „ja nel fois ge por el
Ne voil que die de France li barnés!
'Vez de Guillaumes com est desmesurés
Com a le roi sosduit et enchanté
Que il en moine son plus maistre barné
Dont il dust estre servis et honorés!“

Some of these various similarities can be ascribed however to some suggestion in *Aliscans*. Bernhardt himself points out (*Ztschr. f. d. Ph.* 32, p. 53) for 5. Wh. 141, 22, the similar *Aliscans* 2696—7, and (*Ztschr. f. d. Ph.* 34, p. 547) for 2. Wh. 298, 11, he admits that a reference to Char. is not necessary.

Nassau Noordewier calls 1. Wh. 298, 14. a vague allusion and considers it unlikely that Wolfram knew the entire poem, as the passage 298, 13—18 implies that Willehalm took Nîmes from Tybalt, which is not the situation in Charroi. The same critic thinks it plain that Wolfram knew no more of the conquest of Nîmes than he tells; this seems probable, unless the other resemblances make too strong a case. Nassau Noordewier goes further and says it is evident that this allusion was in Wolfram's version of *Aliscans*.

The story of Willehalm's short nose is not in agreement with Char., but proves little as the account in *Aliscans* differs from Char. and also from Willehalm. It would be easy to accept Nassau Noordewier's theory here of a different version of *Aliscans*, if that

theory were not even more improbable, than that Wolfram had preferred a version for which he found a suggestion in the combination of the story in Aliscans with what he knew of the Kaiserchronik (14308—14885) (cf. below), or from his general information concerning Charlemagne and Pope Leo. The fact that he does not adopt the story in Charroi de Nîmes, given [as San Marte says l. c. (p. 62)] as an excuse to the heathen king whom Guillaume wishes to deceive, would prove nothing.

The torture (4. Wh. 297, 13) applied to women (under quite different circumstances, however, in the two poems) is suggestive, especially, as Bernhardt remarks, because Wolfram usually praises the knightly courtesy of the heathen (Ztschr. f. d. Ph. 32, p. 53).

Nassau Noordewier finds no basis for a comparison between 3. Wh. 91, 24 and Char. 199, which San Marte and Bernhardt had considered related. It can only be said that among a number of possible points of contact, it is one of the least striking.

6. „Petit punt“ proves no more for Charroi de Nîmes than for Nerbonois or for Moniage Guillaume, unless it is taken in conjunction with other points, as it occurs in all three and always of the bridge at Paris.

7. Schilbert as an outcome of Gillebers, Charroi de Nîmes 1018, and as distinguished from Guibers, does not prove anything, as Wolfram uses Schilbert 146, 19 to mean Willehalm's brother, and the same form later of „him of Tandernas“.

8. Tafari (74, 4) stands at the head of the list of 15 kings — rois Mattahel von Tafari (cf. Chançon de Willames at the same spot „Matthamar et Daver“ (Meyer) l. 2052—2070 (d') Aver (Klapötke, p. 39). Nassau Noordewier is right in remarking that little can be proved by a single proper name. In this case the similarity is not exact.

9. Of „Puy“ for „Poy“ I should say, that in conjunction with other points of similarity, it gave a very slight increase of probability to the theory that Wolfram knew Charroi de Nîmes.

10. 456, 25—460, 20 I must admit that the circumstances of the administration of the reproof to Guillaume and to Willehalm are very different. (Point of contact 4. suffers from the same reproach.) In both cases a reproof is administered by one of his relatives for untimely mourning. Bédier (*les Légendes épiques*, I, *les cycle de G. d. Or.* p. 71) introduces the French passage thus:

„Ayant traversé le Berry et l’Auvergne, Guillaume s’arrête au seuil des contrées sarrasines, et au moment où il quitte pour jamais le sol de la France, il pleure sur le pays qu’il laisse et sur le pauvre roi, à qui il a fait offense, qu’il méprise et qu’il aime.“

Bernhardt says of 1, 2 and 4 that they occur in a part of the poem that Wolfram appears to have added of his own invention, that is in the council chamber at Gloriete toward the end of Book 6. He might have added that the three occur in quick succession.

The passages under 10. belong also to a portion of the poem for which no source has been found, that is to the end of the last book. The resemblance of the names Bertram and Bernart would give a little more value to the suggestiveness of the passage. Wolfram need not, according to his own version, have changed the name at all, in order to transfer the rôle of Willehalm’s mentor from his nephew to his brother. The reproof would come more naturally from brother to brother than from nephew to uncle, especially when the nephew was not the only relative on hand.

To sum up the case for Charroi, of the ten points of contact which have been suggested between it and Willehalm, there is not one that gives convincing proof of any direct knowledge of the poem by Wolfram, and only one that proves an indirect or partial knowledge of it. Two of the points (Schilbert and Tafari) have infinitesimal weight, and the other resemblances are of a nature to be convincing more by their number than by their individual importance.

The probability of Wolfram's having heard Charroi de Nîmes is a fairly strong one, but no convincing proof that he heard the poem, has been given.

The probability that Wolfram's version of Aliscans contained the subject matter of Charroi or that he received it verbally, seems quite as strong, when we consider how many other points of contact between Willehalm and other branches indicate the same probabilities.

E. Prise d'Orange.

This branch of the cycle is not considered to contain points of contact with Willehalm, but in Jonckbloet's modern French version of it, Guillaume in sending word back to Nîmes for help from Orange calls twice on frère Bertram. The threat of burning a victim and casting his ashes to the wind is frequent¹⁾, and the threat of hanging occurs more than once. The burning of Orabel is suggested. Goliath le blond appears (= Libilân?), Garin d'Anseine is often mentioned, but not as the brother of Guillaume. I have not been able to secure the Old French edition. It is scarcely possible to make an inference from this meagre information.

F. Covenans Vivien.

It was assumed by San Marte that Wolfram was familiar with Covenans Vivien, and Bernhardt considers that San Marte proved it. (Zschr. f. d. Ph. 32 p. 52.) Saltzmann, Jonckbloet, Suchier, Rolin, and Nassau Noordewier have been of another opinion, the last named critic has made it necessary for Bernhardt to resort to d'Argastaine in Covenans 180 as the source of Tabrasten Wh. 74, 8 as the last defence of the theory.

The likeness between these names is not convincing, the less so as Wolfram was even freer in his introduction of new geographical names into his poem, than in his use of those of persons.

¹⁾ Compare Al. 4030—4033 and below.

The interview between Vivien and Kerubin needs no suggestion from the French prose romance, with which Nassau Noordewier bolstered it up. The new edition of *Aliscans* shows that the critical lines appear in two passages: Al. 336—40 in all mss., Al. 404, 2—20 in nine mss. *MmLcdTAbB*.

- Al. 336—340 Il reclama le baron saint Martin
 Et saint Andrieu, saint Pol et saint Fermin
 (Saint Nicolai, s. Piere et s. Quentin) *m*
 Et s. Herbert, lei siet deseur le Rin
 a. Et le cors saint beneoit Florentin
 b. Et le haut angle, qu'en claime Seraphin¹),
 K'il le maintigne vers la gent Apollin

Al. 402—03; 404, 2—20

„Diex“, dist-il, „sire, vrais peres raient,
 Par toi est toute creature vivant,
 E poez fere de tot a vos commant.
 Si voirement com vous en Belleent
 De la pucele virge fustes nessant,
 Et bautestire preïs el flun Jordant,
 Si com c'est voirs et je i sui creant,
 Aiez merci de cest chetif dolant!
 Biax sire, dex! par itel convenant,
 Ainz que mes cors se voise definant,
 Voie Guillaume et a moi soit parlant,
 Se je puis muir, m'ame en ira chantant“.
 A icest mot vet sa colpe batant.
 Encontre terre s'estendi en croisant,
 Et la ceruele li chiet as elz devant.
 Et le saint angle le vet reconfortant²),
 Qui li a dit: „Guillaumes vient poignant,
 Mais nel verras, s'avra dolor molt grant,
 Quar enclos l'ont .XVm. Perssant“.
 Ne li dist plus, ainz s'en torna a tant.
 Et Viviens remest iluec gisant.

¹) Line a and b wanting in *aMC*. — Ser.] *d* Cherubin (*d* reads moreover: Et s. Michiel gran biel Serafin). In all the mss. except *a* Vivien calls on one angel at least, namely Seraphin.

²) *m* has instead of this line: Et le saint angle vient del ciel descendant, molt doucement le va reconfortant.

Compare with these two passages Wh. 48, 15—19.

der uns ime toufe wart
und Jêsus an der sîezen vart
ime Jordân wart genennet Krist,
der nam uns noch bevolhen ist,
den die der touf bedeket hât:

and 49, 1—30 Der junge helt vor got erkant
reit gein dem wazzer Larkant.
niht der sêle veige
reit nâch der engel zeige
unkreftic von dem plâne
gein einer funtâne.

— — — — —
vor dem tievel nam der sêle war
der erzengel Kerubin
— — — — —

der junge ûz sîezem munde sprach
'tugenthafter got, mîn ungemach
sî diner hôhen kraft gegeben,
daz du mich sô lange lâzest leben
unz ich mîn œheim gesehe,
und daz ich des vor im verjehe,
ob ich ie zuht gein im gebrach,
ob mir sölch untât geschach'.
Kerubin der engel lieht
sprach 'nun hab des zwîvel nicht,
daz vor dînem tôde dich
dîn œheim siht¹⁾: des wart an mich'.
der engel sâ vor im verswant.
Vivians sich dâ zehant
stracte sô der tût geligt:
unkraft het im an gesigt.

Wolfram assumes that the angels on whom Vivian called in

¹⁾ Wolfram's wording „Dich dîn œheim siht“ makes it possible for us to ask whether he had not reason for using this arrangement of terms rather than „Du wirst deinen Oheim sehen“. It would be quite accounted for, however, if we assume that he was influenced by the lines in Aliscans just quoted. Later, however, he refers to the promise 65,7—9 Vivianz (und) sach den œheim sîn, als in der engel Kêrubîn trôste) also 65,20 „wan Kêrubîn der engel sprach, ich solt dich noch ob mir gesehen“.

his first prayer (Al. 336—340), have come to his aid and guide him to his resting place (49, 1—6).

The „voice from heaven“ in the Old French prose romance may have come from *m*'s version of Al. 403, 15 given above. Bernhardt alludes to this voice Zs. f. d. Ph. 34, 543:

„Wichtiger und zahlreicher sind Wolfram's Anklänge an Prosaroman: 1. Dem sterbenden Vivianz verheißt auf sein Gebet der Engel Kêrubin, daß er seinen Oheim noch einmal sehen werde. (Wh. 49, 24, vgl. 65, 6. 18); in Prosa-Roman tut dasselbe eine Stimme vom Himmel. In Aliscans (400 Gues.) betet Vivian nur um Beistand für seinen Oheim; eine Hs. weiß von der Erscheinung eines Engels; doch dieser erteilt dem Sterbenden nur den mangelhaften Trost, Willehalm nahe heran, er aber, Vivian, werde ihn nicht mehr sehen, was nachher doch geschieht.“ (Al. 807—865.)

But we have in nine of the 13 mss. the source of the episode in the Prose Romane Al. 402, 8—20. Moreover we find in the variant of *d* to line 339 b the name Cherubin as that of an angel to whom Vivian appeals to support him and Guillaume against the foe. *d* adds „Et s. Michiel gran biel (sic) Serafin“. In all the mss. Vivian has called on a list of from 5 to 12 saints; all the mss. but *a* appear to add one or more angels, Serafin being named in all cases.

The line Al. 340 reads „K'il le maintigne vers la gent Apollin“; „il“ refers to the power or powers on whom he has just called. The verb is plural in *M* and *L*, the editor's note is: „... der sg. maintigne in *aCd* kann beweisen, dass 339 b. auch in der Vorlage von *a* gestanden hat“.

339 b. Et le haut angle, qu'en clame Seraphin (= *d* Cherubin).

Bernhardt (Z. f. d. Ph. 32 p. 54—55) rejects some of the passages that San Marte had adduced as proof that Wolfram knew Covenans Vivien. He finds the source for Willehalm 66, 25 ff.

und denk waz ich ze Termis sprach,
da'z bēdiu hōrte unde sach
manec hundert riter werder diet,
als mir mīn hōher muot geriet,
in flūhe nimmer Sarrazīn:

in Al. 847 ff. Dist Viviēns molt sui or trespensés:
Au jor que primes deuc mes armes porter,
A dieu vouai, ke l'oïrent mi per,
Ke ne fuiroie por Turc ne por Escler
Lonc une lance — etc.

Bernhardt also admits that Wolfram's story of Vivian's youth and inexperience is irreconcilable with the content of Covenans, nevertheless he believes San Marte was right in citing Covenans 780 and 1560:

en Paradis sera vostre loier.
en Paradis Damedex nos atant

as the source of Wh. 14, 27 f.

Die viere heten hie den pris
und sint nu dort en pardis.

Also Cov. 1561 and 1640

1561 ge oi les angles par desoz nos chantant.
1640 ne veez vos les angles entor nos

as the source of Wh. 14, 10 and 17, 1

14, 10—11 Dō, manec werder gast mit engelen in den himel flouc.
17, 1 ūf erde hie durch wibe lōn und ze himel durch der engel dōn.

These passages are far from convincing. The idea of heaven as the reward of the christian warrior is universal, and that of angels bearing his soul aloft is not unusual.

The resemblances arise from the similar situations and similar religious faith.

It is incredible that Wolfram should have picked out a few words, like those in the passages above, from speeches of Vivian to his men, and have used them in Willehalm without ever alluding to the conspicuous events of the poem, Vivian's daily fights for seven years in Spain, his shipload of 500 mutilated prisoners

despatched to Desramés, the latter's fury on receiving this token and the battle on that account, Vivian's refusal to ask for help, his refuge in the old castle, etc. Vivian is a veteran warrior in Covenans, but comes into battle for the first time in Willehalm and is really too young to bear arms.

Wolfram's repeated emphasis on Vivian's youth and especially 67, 9—30 is an argument for Wolfram's ignorance of Covenans Vivien.

„wê mir diner clârñ geburt!
waz wold ich swerts umb dich gegurt?
dû soltst noch kûme ein sprinzeln
tragen. diner jugende schîn
was der Franzoiser spiegelglas.
swaz dîns liehtn antlûtzes was,
dar an gewuohs noch nie kein gran:
war umbe hiez ich dich ein man?
man solde dich noch finden
dâ heim bî andern kinden
billicher dan du hetes getragn
schilt, dar und du bist erslagn.
ich sol vor gote gelten dich:
dich ensluoc hie niemen mêr wan ich.

— — — — —
durch waz fuort ich ein kindeln
gein starken wiganden
ûz al der heiden landen?

Wolfram's account of Vivian is irreconcilable with the account given of him in Covenans; Bernhardt admits it l. c. page 54. but he considers that Wolfram was nevertheless familiar with this branch.

Bernhardt cites „Nubia“ as another point of contact between Willehalm and Covenans. It is true that this exact form does not occur in the extant versions of Aliscans. We have Nubiant twice.

Al. 404, 29 a. Chascun gardoient .xiiii. Nubiant
and 5404 La les gardoient .l. Nubiant.

cf. Wh. 415, 21 dô twanger die von Nubiant,
daz si sluzzen uf diu bant.
416, 5 dâ bliben die von Nubiant.

But Wolfram seems to differentiate between Núbîâ and Núbiant. Purrel is künec von Núbiant 358, 24; 425, 7. 27; 429, 2; 432, 5.

cf. Al. 5986 Et que paien ne s'en torment fuiant
Par la bataille es vos poignant Borrel¹).

Whereas Haukauus is rois von Núbîâ, in the list of fifteen kings. Wh. 74, 11²).

cf. Chançon de Willame „le reis de Nubie“ in the first of the two lists of 18 kings (line 1714).

Nubia occurs in the Rolantsliet, and its appearance in Willehalm is of no weight as an argument that Wolfram was familiar with Covenans Vivian. D'Argastaine (Cov. Viv. 180) as the source of Tabrastên (Wh. 74, 8) is not worth considering as an argument on which to base Wolfram's knowledge of this branch. If it were one of a number of parallels, several of which were to some degree convincing, it might add a feather's weight to the mass of evidence in favor of Wolfram's having known the poem.

Covenans Vivien represents the battle as raging for days between Desramés and Vivian, before Guillaume is called to the rescue. The subject matter of Aliscans begins after the appearance of the margrave on the battlefield.

Wolfram allows Terramêr to refer to the attack made upon him by Willehalm in the first battle of Aliscans; Terramêr seems

¹) It has suggested itself to me that *laisse CXX* which ends with 5986 may have contained 5987—8 in the form

Par la bataille es vos Borrel poignant
O lui estoient si xiiii enfant

and perhaps something more about Nubiant.

²) Wolfram seems to use *Indîâ* Wh. 8, 9 and *Indiant* 41, 16 interchangeably, but he distinguishes between *Arabi* and *Arâble*. (215, 28 *z' Arâble unt in Arâbi*.) Yet in the first case only *K* has 'Indiant', all the others „*indiâschem lant*“, which Leitzmann adopts.

to imply that the onslaught surprised him, before he had even drawn up his army in battle array. He suggests that the emperor is planning to do the same.

Wh. 354, 1—9 Terramêr der wise man
 sprach 'mich wænt erslichen hân
 der Karles sun Lôys,
 als mir tet sin markys.
 der kom ûf Alitschanz geriten:
 dane wart sô lange niht gebiten,
 unz ich mich sô bewarte
 daz ich mîn her gescharte:
 da von enphieng ich herzenleit.

These lines seem to indicate that Wolfram either invented the way the battle begins in Willehalm, or that he found a similar beginning in his mysterious version. The evidence is against Wolfram's having known even the subject matter of Covenans Vivian.

G. Moniage Guillaume. This branch has not been considered to contain points of contact with Willehalm, but it seems to deserve a little attention.

Cloëtta in an article in „Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen“ 93, p. 436 to 439 has shown that both versions of Moniage were familiar with Aliscans. It is the second version which contains all the passages to which I refer. Its dependence on Aliscans is proven by a passage at the beginning lines 14—29.

Seignor baron, sovent avez oï
 De la dolor qu'en Aliscans sofri
 De Vivien son neveu qu'il perdi,
 Et de Bertran que paien l'ont saisi,
 Guichart le preu, Girart et Guielin.
 Comment Guillames au cort nes s'en foï,
 Ainc n'en mena chevalier ne mescin,
 Vint a Orenge a Guiborc la gentil,
 Comment il vint en France a Looys
 Por le secors qu'il ot mout a envis.
 Si savez bien com arriere revint

Et Rainoarz, qui'l ama et cheri,
Qui delivra Bertran le Palasin.
Puis li donna Guillames le marcis
En mariage sa niece o le cler vis
Et Porpaillart la terre et le päis.

Zschr. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit. 27, 31 ff. Cloëtta dates the present form of Mon. II about 1195¹⁾.

It is therefore a question whether points of resemblance between Willehalm and Moniage Guillaume 2nd version are to be considered as going back to similar versions of Aliscans, or whether we are to assume the points of contact between the French and German to have come from Wolfram's direct or indirect knowledge of an earlier version of the Moniage.

The more notable resemblances in Moniage II to Willehalm are five in number.

1) Faburs is quite a conspicuous figure, the name occurs first in line 2895. In Aliscans his name occurs once in the Halle text line 1777. He and Esmerés have the same part of the siege of Orange entrusted to them. We find the same arrangement in Willehalm 98, 5, but in the German Faburs is the eldest son of Terramér, and his name recurs often.

2) In Aliscans similarly Landris is mentioned only once Al. 4931 *Devant les guie le timoniers Landris.*

In Willehalm he appears three times.

329, 10 Bernhartes vanen an siner hant
fuort der starke gräve Landris:
373, 1 der starke gräve Landris
bürt den vanen höh durch sinen pris.
433, 10 des riches vane swebt enbor:
als tet der vane von Brûbant,
den Landris fuorte an der hant.

¹⁾ An older form without the episode of the giants he dates about 1185; the episode of Synagon he takes for a separate 'Lied' from about 1165, and Mon. I he puts back to 1160.

In *Moniage Guillaume* Landris has an important role, he rescues Guillaume from the dungeon in Palermo. He is mentioned twice as the standard bearer.

3740. Si les conduist li timoniers Landris
3811. Li timoniers a l'enseigne baissie
4480. Landris portoit devant tous l'oriflambe

3) Similarly we find in *Aliscans* the word „grifaigne“ only once in the text and then evidently not as a geographical term.

Al. 5002b L'elme li lacent en la teste grifaingne
also in the variant to 1400 in mss. *Ab* which are usually unlike the German.

Baudus li fels a la chiere grifeigne

In *Willehalm Poydwiz von Griffâne* recurs frequently, Wh. 82, 29; 84, 1 etc., and Saltzmann traced the term to the just quoted line.

In *Moniage Guillaume* griffaigne recurs frequently, and some times where it might be construed as a geographical adjective.

3177 A cest mot montent la pute gent griffaigne
5476 Mout par desire veir la gent grifaigne

Similarly 4451 and 4484.

In li *Narbonnois* line 217 la gent grifeigne¹⁾.

¹⁾ It has already been noticed that Wolfram's description of *Willehalm's* ride from Orange to Orleans, Wh. 112, 3—5, finds a correspondence at the same point in the French Prose Version, and that a similar formula occurs once in *Aliscans* 8202—3, and that the formula is frequent in *Coronnement Looïs*. It occurs five times with variations in *Moniage Guillaume*

895 Li quens Guillames s'exploite de l'errer,
De ses jornees ne vous sai aconter.

3635 Et chil s'en vont, s'acueillent lor errer.
De lor jornees ne vous sai aconter.

4693 De lor jornees ne vous sai conte dire.

5054 Tous ses osteus ne vous sai acointier,
Ne jou ne voel la canchon alongier:
Tant a ale qu'en Franze s'en revient.

4) In Aliscans Desramés threatens Guiborc with drowning and being dragged by wild horses.

Al. 3994 Rois Desrames a sa barbe juree
Ke Guibors ert a cevaus traïnee,
Et en la mer noïee et esfondree

8333 Et Guibors ert a cevaus traïnee,
Après sera en la mer affondree
Une grand pierre entor le col noee.

Guiborc herself expresses a fear of being burned, and that her ashes will be cast to the winds, cf. above *Prise d'Orange* p. 89 a, or of having her head cut off, or being drowned or lapidated.

Al. 4030 „Or sai jo bien, k'a mort ere tornee,
Ne verras mais ta moillier espousee:
Por vostre amor m'iert la teste copee
Et ma cars arse et la porre ventee,
Ou jo serai en la mer afondree,
Une grant pierre entor le col ruëe.
Comment k'il prenge, n'en puis estre escapee.
Ke je ne soie a dolour lapidee!“

5473 Vait s'en Guillames si come Dieus l'en maine,
Passe les tertres, les vaus et les montaignes
De ses journees ne vous sai conte rendre.

Another parallel to Willehalm, which occurs also in *Coronnement Looïs*, is the ambition of the heathen king, this time Synagons, to secure the crowns of Looïs. There is, however, a distinction between these parallels, as in *Moniage Guillaume* there is no claim by descent and Rome is not in question.

There are several such passages in Willehalm (cf. above)

339, 30 Oransche und Pâris
si zestören solten.
dar nâch si fürbaz wolten
ûf die kristenheit durch räche.
Terramêr den stuol dâ zAche
wolt besitzn und dan ze Rôme varn,

396, 22 nu mac die vart hin zAche
mit êren mîden Terramêr.

28 wolt er ze Rôme krône tragn,
sô solt er in daz rihten,

In Willehalm Terramêr threatens Guiborc once with burning only and once with drowning and hanging as alternatives to burning.

Wh. 44, 29 ich sols ûf einer hürde ê sehen,
diu fiuric si: daz muoz geschehen'

108, 18 ich wil und hân mir des erdâht,
daz ich manege unkunde nôt
Arabeln gebe und smæhen tôt,
des Jêsus gunêret si:
der wille ist mîme herzen bî.

109, 22 er bôt ir driu dinc zêren,
daz si der einz nêrn mit der wal:
daz si in dem mere viel ze tal,
umb ir kel ein swæren stein,
ode daz ir fleisch unde ir bein
ze pulver wurden gar verbrant,
od daz si Tybaldes hant
solte hâhn an einen ast.

In Moniage Guillaume 2 we find threats of fire or wild horses and also the three alternatives offered to Guiborc.

M. G. 2: 3154 A son plaisir vous feromes affaire
Ardoir en fu ou a cevaus detraire
3194 Or le ferons ardoir noier ou' pendre
Pour l'ermitage li ferons tel escange¹⁾

M. G. 2: 3196 Onques nus hom n'ot si fort penitence:
Escorcies ert, puis prenderons les membres,
Si les ferons trestous ardoir en cendre²⁾.

Moniage Guillaume 2

2958 A Saint Denis coronerai ma teste
2976 Par Vermendois irons descî en Flandres,
Tout prendrai enfresci et Hollânde,
Puis ere a Ais coronés sans faillance.

Vermendois occurs twice in Willehalm once corresponding to Aliscans and once in the title:

440, 4 der herzoge ûz Vermendoys.

¹⁾ Cf. Li Nerbonois 4149: mort tost m'avroit o pendu o honi, noîé en eve o an un feu broy.

²⁾ In Willehalm we find several lists of different nationalities with only one feeble correspondence in Aliscans 7040 Serviront nos François et Borgenon

5) The most striking parallel between Willehalm and Moniage Guillaume 2 concerns the hero's lodging in a small house outside Orleans in Willehalm, outside Paris in the French.

Willehalm is on his way to find the king and stops for a night at Orleans.

112,6 sin herberge ist mir gesagt,
daz er die schoenen stat vermeit
und eine smæhe gazzen reit
vor dem graben in ein hiuselin,
aldâ sin ors Volatin
sich kûme ûf gerihte.
zem jâmer er sich phlihte.
im was al hôher muot gelegn:
des wolt er sus noch sô niht pflegn.
er schuof dem orse sin gemach
und ouch dem wirte, daz der jach
dazz im nie gast sô wol erbôt.
niht wan wazzer unde brôt
im selbem er ze spise nam.
sin freude was an kreften lam.

compare Wh. 15, 27 Provenzâl und Burgunjoys
und der rehten Franzoys
het er gehabt gerne mër.

126, 8 manec Franzoys und Bertûn
und vil der Engeloise
und der werden Burgunjoyse
zer hôchkezeit kômen dar.
ich mags iu niht benennen gar.
dâ was von tiuschem lande
Flæminge und Brâbande
und der herzoge von Lohrein.

269, 24 den Burgunjoys, den Bertûn,
den Flæminc und den Engeloys,
den Brâbant und den Franzoys
nam wunder waz er wolde tuon.

Moniage Guillaume 2: 3711 Franchoiz et Angevins, Normans,
Bretons et Borghignons et Fris
Et Avalois et Flamans
4246 Et Angevin, Flamenc et Borghignon

In Moniage Guillaume 2, Guillaume has come to Paris to rescue the king from the giant Isoré, he arrives at the gate one evening by the Orleans road. He wishes to enter, but it is too late, the watchman refuses to open the gate, but suggests a refuge for the night.

5583 Ichi d'encoste, delés cest mur plenier,
A un fossé qui gastés est et vies

Guillaume makes up his mind to go there for the night.

5663 Li quens Guillames a tost son tour repris
Par une haie, lés un gasté cemin,
Ainc ne la sorent païen ne Sarrasin.
El fossé entre, qui fu viés et antis,
Tans a erré Guillames le marchis
Qu' a la maison Bernart del fossé vint,
Si com li gaite li avoit biens apris.
Vint a l'ostel, si le vit si petit
Qu'il s'en esmaie, pour verté le vous di.

Guillaume exclaims at the poverty and small dimensions of the house; Bernart opens the door and is frightened at the size of his guest.

5715 „Sire“, dist il, „pour amor Dieu, merci,
Vous ne porriés en mon hostel gesir;
Et ou girroit vos destriers arrabis?“

Bernart wonders and stares. Guillaume repeats his request:
Dist Bernars: „Sire, petis est li ostés“.

Guillaume prays God to make it possible for him to lodge there, and puts his shoulder to the roof-tree; the house grows larger by miracle.

5736 Si que le quens i puet de plain entrer
Et li cevaus ricement establir.

There are four names in the French that find no equivalent in the German and three in the German with no equivalent in French. It is unlikely that „Angevins“ stood in Wolfram's version, for its connection with Parzival would have commended it to him, but it seems probable that lists of the nature of those in Moniage Guillaume 2 were to be found in his text.

Bernart falls at Guillaume's feet and is prepared to worship him. Guillaume tells him it is the work of God.

5750 En l'ostel entre, ne s'est plus arrestés
Le cheval ont d'une part establé;

Bernart was poor; he had neither bed nor dishes. He helps the count disarm. Bernart is afraid the horse will knock the house down. Guillaume reassures him and asks for supper. Bernart offers him the piece of bread which was to serve for his own breakfast. Guillaume pities him and gives him money to go into Paris and buy wine and meat. Bernart after bribing the sentinel gets into the city.

5844 Ver Petit Pont acueli son cemin

He buys food and dainties for horse and man, also dishes and wine. He is loaded down, when he returns. Guillaume makes a fire. Bernart bids him rest, he will do the cooking.

5896 Mais cele avaine qu'est en cel sac, prendés
Et de cel fain dont il i a planté,
Si en donés vo destrier a vo gré

Bernart is afraid of the horse. The two men eat and drink together.

5921 Apres mengier s'est Bernars sus levés
Ses deus mains jointes s'en a Dieu aoré;
„Dieu“, dist Bernars, „con sui boins eürés
Que si boin oste m'avés anuit donné.
Bien a set ans accomplis et passés
Que jou ne fui ausi bien conreés.

Guillaume gives Bernart what is left of the food, and lets him keep the remainder of the money he had given him. Bernart is lost in wonder and gratitude.

These are the points of similarity between Willehalm and Moniage Guillaume 2, there are, however, two points of dissimilarity, which in my opinion are important in discussing the relation between the two poems.

The first is the mention of „la roine Blanche flor“ in Moniage Guillaume II line 3719. The name occurs in Aliscans 2548 also „li rois i doit Blanche flor coronner, vostre seror, ki molt vos doit amer“. The queen has no name in Willehalm and it is hardly credible that Wolfram, who has such a liking for proper names, should have omitted to mention such an important one, if he knew it.

The second point is the long episode beginning Moniage Guillaume II: 2797 and extending through the middle of the poem to 4620. It recounts the capture of Guillaume by Synagon and his retention in the tower at Palerne, and later his rescue by Landris.

In Aliscans we have a few lines referring to a similar situation.

- Al. 354 Es Haucebier d'outre Cafarnaon.
 355 a Niés fu Tiebaut et oncle Sinagon,
 b Cil ot Guillaume maint jor en sa prison.
 c Dedens Palerne el plus mestre dognon¹).
 5076 La tierce esciele a Sinagon carchie;
 Cil ot Guillaume maint jor en sa baillie:
 Dedens Palerne en une enfermerie
 a En sa grant tor, ki est vielle et entie.

The date of the imprisonment does not seem to be determined in Aliscans. Moniage Guillaume 2 places it after the events of Aliscans. Wolfram considers on the contrary that Synagon took Willehalm prisoner at a date preceding his love for Gyburc.

Wolfram does not mention Palerne in this connection. The passages concerning Willehalm's captivity are as follows: Gyburc speaks.

- 220, 11 mir saget ouch selbe Tybalt
 daz der marcrâve mangel walt
 zer tjost vertæte mit den spern.
 der begund ouch mîner minne gern,
 dô in der künic Synagûn,
 Halzebieres swester sun,
 in eime sturme gevienc.

¹) Line c only in *mLC*.

24 dô was ich kûneginne dort
und pflac vil grôzer rîcheit.
sus lônde ich sîner arbeit:
von boin und anderem sîm versmidn
macht ich in ledec an allen lidn
und fuor in toufpæriu lant.

The second passage referring to the same event is found in the interview between Gyburc and Rennewart. She offers him armor.

293, 28 ez truoc der kûnec Synaguon
in dem sturme, do er den markîs vienc,

Gyburc explains how it happened and goes on

294, 9 den markîs sicherheit betwanc
Synagûn, der ie nach prise ranc,
wander den getouften was entriten.
sus wart er ân sig überstriten
und gefuort in Tybaldes lant.
sîne boyn und andr sîn îsernbant
sah ich an im ungerne.
mîn houbet ze Todjerne
krône truoc von erbeschaft:
dô het in manegen landen kraft
der milte kûnc Tybalt von Cler
(er fûert noch hiute grôz her),
der gap mir krôn dâ zArâbi:
ich enweiz, wer nu dâ vrouwe sî.
mîn neve, der kûnec Synagûn,
Halzebieres swester sun,
sîn selbes harnasch und den man
liez er bî mir, der hât getân
sô manegen hôhlichen pris.
daz harnasch und der markîs
sint mit mir beide entrunnen.

Cloëtta l. c. says concerning lines 355 b. c. and 5076—79 in Aliscans: „Diese Zeilen haben wohl der ältesten für uns erreichbaren Fassung von Aliscans angehört“. Cloëtta thinks, however, that they were not in the version familiar to the author of *Moniage Guillaume II*, but were inserted in Aliscans perhaps about 1150 A.D., more probably after 1175 A.D., that is after

the long episode had been introduced into Moniage. Cloëtta believes that the story of Guillaume's imprisonment in Palerne has an historical foundation. He ascribes it p. 431 l. c. to events in the life of Guillaume Fierebrace, the oldest son of Tancred de Hauteville the Norman, first count of Apulia. These events occurred from 1016 to 1072.

Cloëtta in Archiv f. d. Studium d. n. Sprachen 94, 26 shows reason to believe that the whole Synagon Episode was an independent epic; he repeats his assertion that it concerned a Guillaume who lived two hundred and fifty years later in Italy. His opinion is that a French poet, deceived by the identity of the names, wove it into the history of Guillaume au cort nes about 1150.

However this may be, and whether our version of Aliscans took the lines from an older Moniage, or from an independent epic, and whether Moniage evolved the story from the few lines in Aliscans, or inserted an already existing epic, the results for a judgment of Willehalm remain the same. Wolfram did not know Moniage with the Synagon episode inserted. He did know something about a capture of Guillaume by Synagon, and the lines quoted from Aliscans suffice to explain that knowledge, and would quite naturally lead him to place the date of the capture before the events of Aliscans. We have very little reason to believe that Wolfram had any acquaintance with Prise d'Orange, and we must consider that either his version of Aliscans gave him an explanation of how Guiborc and Guillaume came to Orange, or that he evolved one from the data given in his source. The latter seems more probable, especially as Wolfram, anxious as he is for a logical sequence of events, does not make it perfectly clear how Willehalm became possessed of Orange, and does not seem to know that it had ever belonged to Tybalt. Wolfram brings Willehalm a prisoner to Tybalt's territory probably, „da z e Arâbi“, in order to bring him into connection with Gyborc, who could not easily be supposed to have made his acquaintance in Palerne.

How are the likenesses between Moniage Guillaume II and Willehalm to be accounted for? To my thinking by a similarity between the versions of Aliscans, with which the two authors were familiar. It is worth noting that Wolfram indicates that he has authority for his description of Willehalm's lodging: „sin herberge ist mir gesagt“. Unless we have proof to the contrary, such a statement should mean that this passage is not the invention of the author. If we assume that Wolfram knew a version of Moniage containing the episode at the gate of Paris, would he have transferred it to Orleans with the just quoted introduction?

A comparison of the two versions of Moniage Guillaume with each other makes it easier to believe in a version of Aliscans which, while telling the same story as the versions which we know, may have been widely different from them. Cloëtta (Archiv f. d. St. d. n. Spr. 93, 411) says that Moniage I and Moniage II are altogether independent of one another. The mass of material added in the second version cannot be used altogether as a parallel case, as the first version is by common consent a fragment.

Moniage Guillaume II has no „laisses similaires“, goes consistently forward without contradiction and is much smoother in its style than Aliscans.

In my judgment the relation between Willehalm and Moniage Guillaume II increases the probability of the existence of a version of Aliscans unknown to us, containing the points of similarity between Moniage II and the German epic. I do not deny the possibility of Wolfram's having known an earlier different version of Moniage without the Synagon episode, nor of his having received some oral tradition.

Summary of the discussion of the branches.

We have found points showing an acquaintance of some kind with matter contained in li Nerbonois, Guibers

d'Andernas, Charroi, siege de Barbastre, Moniage Guillaume, and Coronnement Looys. Wolfram could not have known any of them, except Charroi, in the form we know them, because of his evident ignorance of characteristic features in them. Wolfram might have known Charroi and yet have written Willehalm as he did, but we have only a fairly strong possibility that he had heard it, based on a number of not very striking similarities.

Only a single line of siege de Barbastre suggests Wolfram's knowledge of the poem, and the incident does not tally in time or place or actors with the corresponding incident in Willehalm.

My inference would be either that Wolfram had oral information about striking incidents in the cycle, and that Charroi de Nîmes was quoted at some length by his informant, or that Wolfram's version of Aliscans contained some or all of these allusions. Both alternatives do not exclude one another, both may be true, and in one case the first may be preferred, in an other the second.

III.

There remain three independent versions of Aliscans to be considered, namely A. Chançon de Willame, B. the Italian *Storie Nerbonesi*, and C. the French Prose Romance.

A. The discovery of the Chançon de Willame seemed to promise great assistance in settling some of the questions of relationship between Willehalm and Aliscans. It has, however, proved of little service, as the instances of correspondence between Willehalm and Chançon de Willame, where the latter deviates from Aliscans, are few and unimportant.

Only Ph. Aug. Becker (in his *Grundriß der altfranzösischen Literatur I. Teil. Aelteste Denkmäler. Nationale Heldendichtung*. Heidelberg 1907) has doubted that Chançon de Willame ante-

dates the form of Aliscans known to us. He says l. c. p. 53 'zu „Aliscans“ gehört als eine Art Einleitung der „voeu de Vivien“. Diesen beiden Liedern steht die neu entdeckte Chançon de Willame oder l'Archant gegenüber, ein triviales, kompositionsloses Machwerk, das mit den abenteuerlichsten geographischen Vorstellungen operiert. Das Verhältnis dieser beiden Fassungen zueinander bedarf noch der Klärung; es fragt sich, ob die Chançon de Willame die ältere Vorlage ist, oder ob die Chançon de Willame die arg entstellte Konkurrenznachahmung jener beiden Lieder ist“ etc.

It makes little difference to the relation between Chançon de Willame and Willehalm how this alternative is settled. What we need to know, is whether there are passages in Chançon de Willame which correspond more closely to Willehalm than to Aliscans, and whether we can infer from such parallel passages that Wolfram knew a poem containing some of the material that we find in the Chançon de Willame but not in Aliscans.

The only such parallels which I have been able to discover are :

1. The name „Daver“ or „d'Aver“ (in the Chiswick press edition „Dauer“) Ch. de W. 2057 ¹⁾, for „Tafar“ in Willehalm 74, 4.

It is not alone the likeness of the forms that is striking, but the similar position at the head of a list of fifteen kings who attack the hero.

In Chançon de Willame Vivien has just expired after receiving the communion. Guillaume lifts his body up on Balçan's neck and is about to carry it to Orange.

2055 Sur li corent sarazin et escler
Tels .XV. reis qui ben vus sai nomer
Reis Mathamar et uns reis Dauer
et Bassumet etc.

¹⁾ This parallel has already been mentioned in connection with „Tafur“ in Charroi.

In Willehalm Vivianz expires 69, 10—11. Willehalm lifts him up before him onto the horse 70, 9; he attempts to ride away but is attacked:

70, 15 iedoch wart er an gerant
von liuten die mir niht bekant
sint. ir was et im ze vil
sô nâhen gein dem râmes zil.

Willehalm throws the body down and succeeds in making his escape through the underbrush. Then he returns and watches over the body through the night. At dawn

71, 21 sînen neven kust er unde reit,
da er mit fünfzeihen kûnegeu streit¹⁾).

Their presence is explained and one or two are mentioned, finally 74, 3:

74, 3 Ich wil die kûnege nennen gar.
rois Mattahel von Tafar etc.

In Chançon de Willame there are two groups of fifteen kings each, who attack Willame. The first group of fifteen forms the suite of Desramés and attack Willame, when he enters the battle. As a matter of fact there seem to be sixteen in the first list and fourteen in the second. The fifteenth in the first list is called „li reis de Nubie“, without a name; in Willehalm's one list 74, 11 „rois Haukauus von Nûbiâ“ finds no correspondence in Aliscans, but the same is true of „Haste von Alligues“, for whom we find no equivalent in either list of Chançon de Willame²⁾).

¹⁾ We may also note „Golias“, the 12 th name on the list in Chançon de Willame 2062, as a possible correspondence for „Gorïax von Cordubin“, the fourth name in Wh. 74, 9, which has no correspondence in the lists in Aliscans 1014—1018 and 1044—1047.

²⁾ A second combination of two proper names in Chançon de Willame is „Tabur de Canaloine“ 3169, which bears a likeness to two proper names used together in Willehalm 435, 19 „Fâbors und Kanliûn“. There is no form at all similar to „Kanliûn in Aliscans“.

Ch. de W. 3169 Este vus errant Tabur de canaloine
Vn sarazin qui Dampnedev confunde

2. In the Chançon de Willame Tervagant is used as the name of a god directly as in Willehalm, this is common in different branches of the cycle, but in Aliscans itself we find only 80 „la gent Tervagant“.

Chançon de Willame 3252: Se Mahomet ne uolez reneier
et Appolin et Teruagant le veil
3512 Tresque il uendreit de aurer Teruagant

3. There are two likenesses between Willehalm and the Chançon at the death of Vivian, the first is in Chançon de Willame line 1990. I quote from 1987 on.

Viuien troue sur un estanc
A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant
Desuz la foille dun oliuer mult grant
Ses blanches mains croisies sur le flanc
Plus suef fleereit que nule espece ne piment

He is described as a monster who uses teeth and nails as weapons.
3174 Veit Guiellin, si li est coru sure,
Baie la gule, si li quidad trangleltre.

Willame comes to Guielin's rescue, but his sword makes no impression on the monster's tough hide. Rainouart comes running and gives him ten blows, the monster's howls are heard four leagues away.

3199 Quant lunt entendu li paien et li hungre,
Mult lur est laiz, quant Thabur veient confondre.

The passage in Willehalm reads:

435, 18 dā tet wol tūf der flūhte schīn
Fābors und Kanlfūn
und Ehmereiz, Tybaldes sun,
daz si wol kobern kunden.

There is a certain connection between these two names in Wolfram's mind, as „Fābors“ is called the eldest son of Terramēr, and yet 358, 12 ff. the charge of the idols is given to „Kanlfūn, der künec von Lanzasardin“, and Terramēr adds 358, 16:

daz ist der eltste sun mīn,
von mīnem ērsten wibe erboren.

His death at Rennewart's hand occurs in defense of his father against Willehalm.

Willehalm in his lament over Vivian says (62, 16—17):

als pigment und âmer
dîn sûeze wunden smeckent

Aliscans has 723—724

Viviën voit, ki gisoit tos sanglans.
Plus souef flaire ke baumes ne encens

The second parallel is the only speech of Vivian in this scene:

Chançon de Willame lines 2033—2044:

„Ohi bel sire“ dist Viuien le ber
„Ico conuis ben que ueirs et uifs est Dev
Qui uint en terre pur sun pople saluer
Et de la uirgne en beleem fu nez
Et se laissad en sainte croiz pener
Et de la lance Langis fu fore,
Que sanc et eve corut de sun le“.
A ses oilz terst, sempres fu enlumine,
Merci criad, si li perdonad Deus.
„Deus mei colpe, des lore que fu nez,
Del mal que ai fait des peechez et de lassetez.
Vncle Willame un petit men donez“.

(i. e. of the consecrated bread.)

Vivian answers Willehalm's question whether he has received the communion, 68, 17—69, 9:

442, 16 Canliûn tet dâ wol schîn
daz er sînen vater sach
ungern in sölhem ungemach.
an den kom dô Rennewart:
des was der bruoder ungespart:
von dem wart Canliûn erslagn.

We are not told what became of Fâbors.

There is moreover a knight „Huges“ Ch. de W. 3216, who has his horse killed under him by the terrible „amirail de Balan“. The latter seems to correspond more or less to „Borrell“ in Aliscans = „Purrel“ in Willehalm, who slays „Huc von Lunzel“ Wh. 428, 29. Rennewart avenges the Christian losses against the heathen champion in both cases. There is no name approaching „Huc“ in Aliscans.

daz kint sprach 'in hân es niht.
mîn unschuldeclich vergiht
sol mir die sêle leiten
ûz disen arbeiten,
aldâ si ruowe vindet,
ob mich der tôt enbindet.
doch gip mir sîn lîchnamen her,
des mennischeit vons blinden sper
starp, dâ diu gotheit genas
der gesellekeite. Tismas
der helle nie bekorte:
Jêsus an im wol hôrte
daz in sîn ruof erkande:
der sêle nôt er wande.
nû rüefe ouch ich den selben ruof
hin ze dem der mich geschuof
und der mir werliche hant
in sime dienste gap bekant.
küsse mich, verkus gein mir
swaz ich ie schult getruoc gein dir.
diu sêl wil hinnen gâhen:
nû lâz mich balde enphâhen,
ob du'r ze helfe iht wellest gebn“.

We find in *Aliscans* 819 to 819 g the lines corresponding to the first part of the speech in *Willehalm*:

- Dist Vивиѐns: je n'en ai pas gosté;
a. Quant je i ving, si l'avait on doné.
b. Mais se deu plet, le roi de maiesté,
c. Ja por ce n'iere perdu ne encombré,
d. Car damledeu est plains de piëté.
e. Bien voit de l'ome et cuer et volenté;
f. Qui a a lui son corage torné
g. Il se recort de bone volenté“.

Guillame offers him the consecrated bread, Vivian replies:

- 819, o. Dist Vивиѐns: „Forment l'ai desirré,
p. Or sai je bien que dex m'a visité“.
q. A icest mot a sa colpe clamé.

Viviens speaks three times more, the first time to ask his uncle to take him in his bosom and to give him the sacred bread

before he dies, the second to confess his fear that he has broken his vow, and the last to make confession and send greetings to Guiborc, but there is no reference to Christ's wounded side nor to Tismas or Langis.

It is to be noted, however, that the story of Longis recurs frequently in other branches of the cycle and is used toward the end of Aliscans 7097—7102.

Et en la crois souffris la passion,
Et de la lance fus ferus a bandon,
Che fist Longis, ki ot bon guerredon;
Ains n'ot veü, ke de fi le set on,
Li sans li vint jusqu'as poins de randon,
Ses iex en tert, si ot alumison.

4. A few lines beyond this scene in Chançon de Willame the Saracens take Guiot prisoner. Two lines of Willame's lament are similar to the beginning of Willehalm's lament, when the battle is going against him.

Chançon de Willame 2080—81

Cum se uait declinant ma grant nobilite

Et cum est destruit tut mun riche parente

compare Willehalm 39, 9

mîner mâge kraft nu siget¹⁾).

Parallel summaries of Aliscans and Chançon de Willame have been made by Klapötke. In connection with them he calls attention to the dialogue between Guillaume and Guiborg concerning the fate of the hero's nephews. (A. Klapötke: Das Verhältnis

¹⁾ When William is seeking admission to Orange after the first battle, his wife tests him in two ways, before she will let him in, one is that he must show his valor by freeing christian captives, the other that he must show the scar on his nose. The order of the tests is the same in Willehalm and in Chançon de Willame, that is: he sets the captives free first, and then removes his helmet to show the scar on his nose. In Aliscans he shows the scar first and then sets the captives free. A sense of logical sequence may have induced Wolfram to change what he found in his source. It does not seem probable that Gyburg after recognizing the scar on his face, would insist on a second test.

von Aliscans zur Chançon de Willame, Halle 1907.) On page 40 he says, „Durch das Zusammenfassen der verschiedenen Fragen, die Guibore in Rainoart (Klapötke entitles thus all of Chançon de Willame after the death of Desrame line 1979 ff.) einzeln an Willehalm wegen seiner Verwandten richtet, wird die Wirkung in Aliscans wesentlich beeinträchtigt. Es ist auffallend, daß Guibore, die ihren Gemahl in Aliscans dreimal nach dem Schicksal der Helden fragt, erst beim dritten Male die richtige Antwort erhält, daß Vivian tot, die übrigen gefangen sind. Woher weiß er übrigens, daß seine Neffen gefangen sind? Daß er es bisher nicht gewußt hat, geht daraus hervor, daß er das Anerbieten Aerofles, ihm die Gefangenen gegen sein Pferd auszutauschen, für eine List hält. In der Chançon de Willame dagegen heißt es ausdrücklich (1724): ‚Veant le cunte les meinent as chalans‘“.

R. Weeks (Romania 35, p. 309—316) in his criticism of the Halle edition of Aliscans supplies from a passage which he cites from ms. *e*, an answer to Klapötkes question. The passage is omitted in the Halle edition and belongs after line 855, according to the numbering used in that edition, that is to say just after the last speech of Vivian in Aliscans, and before he receives the consecrated bread.

Et dist G(uillaumes): Ne vos covient douter;
 Mais une chose vos voil ge demandier,
 Se de Bertran saves nulle vertes
 Et de Guichart et de Gerart lo ber,
 Gaudin lo brun, Guielin lo membres.
 Dist V(ivians): Nenil oncle, o non Des.
 Mais ce sai bien que paien defaes
 Les en menerent a lor neis sor la mer.
 Je n'en sai plus, si m'aist Damedes,
 Mais de ce pain benoiet me doneis!

The passage just quoted is not in agreement with Chançon de Willame (cf. line 1724 above) and was very likely the effort of the man who made manuscript *e* to explain how Guillaume

knew what had become of his nephews, so that his readers might understand how it was possible for him to inform Guiborc of their fate. It does not appear that Wolfram's source gave any explanation of how it came about that Guillaume was able to give news of any one but Vivian. Wolfram may have reduced the repeated question of Guiborc in Aliscans to a question divided into three parts, because he felt the effect was lost by repetition. It is not absolutely accurate to speak of Guiborc's putting the question three times. The first time she mentions his nephews, it is to say what joy there would have been in Orange to greet Guillaume, if he had returned with them and his other followers. She will not believe that this man who comes alone, can be Guillaume. A question is perhaps implied.

When Guiborc has let Guillaume into Orange, she helps him to disarm. She sees the tears run down his face. She calls her self his loyal wife and his christian proselyte, but reproaches herself for having opened the gate to him: since he comes alone, he cannot be Guillaume.

Al. 1812 „Si eüsiés vo compaigne amenee,
Bertran le conte a la chiere menbree,
L'enfant Guichart, ki bien fiert de l'espee,
Et Guiëlin, Gaudin de Pierelee,
Et Viviën, dont sui molt desiree,
Et li barnages de la terre salvee,
Cist gogleor fuissent a l'asanlee,
Mainte viële i eüst atepree;
Entor lui fust grans joie demenee.
N'est pas Guillames! toute en sui effraee!“

1825 „France Contesse, n'i a mestier cellee,
Ma compaignie est tote a mort livree,
En Alischans, la fu desbaretee,
Nul n'en i a, n'ait la teste copee“.

The second time Guiborc asks directly:

- Al. 1840 Molt fu li deus en Orenges pesans
Pleure Guibors, des autres ne sai quans.
„Sire“, fait ele, ou est remés Bertrans
Et Guiëlins et Guichars li aidans,
Gautiers de Termes, Gerars et Guinemans
(Gaudins li bruns et li preus Joserans)¹⁾
Et Viviëns, li hardis combatans,
1849 „Dame“, dist il“, mort sont en Aliscans“.
1860 Molt le fist bien li Palasins Bertrans,
Gerars, mes niés, de Commarchis li frans,
Guichars li preus, Gaudins li combatans.
Mais sor tous autres le fist miex Viviëns.
1872 Mort sont mi home, n'en est nus escapans.

The third time Guiborc's question seems more like a lament, the „dout“ implies that she has heard that they are dead.

- 1884 Et dist Guibors! „Est dont Bertrans ocis,
Gaudins li bruns et Guichars li hardis,
Gautiers de Termes et Gerars li marcis
Et Guiëlins, li biaux, li eschevis?“
„Nenil voir, dame, ancois sont encor vis;
En une nef les tienent paiens pris.
Mais mors i est Viviëns, li hardis“.

Klapötke's remark about repetition seems to apply better to Guillaume's first two replies. Guiborc does not wish to believe the terrible news; only reiteration can convince her that it is true. The inconsistency between Guillaume's first two replies and the third cannot be explained.

Let us compare with Aliscans the corresponding passage of Willehalm 92, 19

si bat die port ûf sliezen.
er moht ê niht geniezen,
swaz err ze künde sagete,
daz si vil dicke klagete.
dô sim mit vorhten manegen kus
gap, der marcrâve alsus
sprach' Gyburc, sîeze âmie,
wis vor mir gar diu vrîe,

¹⁾ Var. of *am*.

swaz ich hazzes ie gewan,
 wan ich gein dir niht zürnen kan.
 nû geben beide ein ander trôst:
 wir sîn doch trûrens unerlöst.⁶
 Des wortes Gyburc sêre erschrac.
 si dâht⁶ ob ich in vrâgen mac
 der rehten mæR von Alischanz?⁶
 ob er selbe und Vivianz
 daz velt behabeten mit gewalt
 gein dem kûnege Tybalt,
 od wiez da ergangen wære.
 alweinde se vrâgete mære,
 'wâ ist der clære Vivianz,
 Mîle unde Gwigrimanz?
 ouwê dîn eines komenden vart!
 wâ ist Witschart und Gérhart
 die gebrueder von Blavî,
 und dîn geslâhte ûz Komarzî,
 Sansôn und Jozeranz
 und Hûwes von Meilanz
 und der pfallenzgrâve Bertram
 (der selbe dînen vanen nam)
 und Hûnas von Sanctes,
 dem dû nie gewanctes
 decheines dienstes, noch er dir?
 herre und friunt, nu sage mir,
 wâ ist Gautiers und Gaudîn
 und der blanke Kybalîn?⁶
 der marcrâve begunde klagen.
 er sprach⁶ in kan dir niht gesagen
 von ir iesliches sunder nôt.
 bärlich Vivianz ist tût.
 in mîn selbes schôz ich sach
 daz der tût sîn jungez herze brach.⁶ —

Willehalm gives only the information that Vivianz is dead, because logically, according to both Aliscans and the German epic, that was all he knew.

Klapötke (on p. 40 l. c.) criticises the passage in Aliscans, where Guillaume arrives at the court of the emperor Al. 2282—2355. His criticisms are 1. the scene is exaggerated; 2. we can-

not understand why Guillaume is not recognized at once; 3. the description of his horse does not fit Volatin; 4. his saracenic armor is not mentioned; and 5. the king at once flies into a rage for which no cause is given, since the king does not yet know of the defeat, nor what Guillaume wants of him. The *Chançon de Willame* (lines 2474 ff.) and the passage in *Willehalm* 126, 21—130, 7 are not open to these objections, but a comparison of the two passages proves that Wolfram's source was much more nearly like *Aliscans* at this point than like *Chançon de Willame*. Did Wolfram note the defects in his source and remedy them, or was his version free from them?

A more positive likeness between *Willehalm* and the *Chançon de Willame* comes a little further on, where Willame-Willehalm's relatives who are present at the emperor's court make speeches in his defence. (Wh. 168, 11—172, 30.)

The list of speakers in *Chançon de Willame* (2540 ff.) differs widely from that in *Willehalm*. In *Chançon de Willame* the speakers are Ernaut, Willame's nephew, Rainald de Poitiers, Garin, Boeves de Commarchis, Guibelin, Baldewin de Flandres. In *Willehalm* they are his father, mother, sister, and Bernart von Brubant, „sin bruoder Bertram“, „sin bruoder Gybert“, Buov von Kumarzî. These names do not correspond very well. Buov is the only exact equivalent. Gybert is perhaps the same as Guibelins.

In *Aliscans* Ernaut speaks in the name of all (Al. 3060—66). Bertram stands in his stead in *Willehalm* as the fourth brother of the hero, who is present. Since Ernaut is present at court in both *Aliscans* and *Chançon de Willame*, and since the other names in *Aliscans* correspond with those in *Willehalm*, the fact that more speeches are made in the other two versions than in *Aliscans*, does not prove much.

Wolfram, if his version was like our *Aliscans* versions at this point, probably had the same objection to Ernaut's appea-

rance at this juncture that Klapötke makes, namely that Ernaut has not had time to get to Monlaon, since we left him in Orleans about to secure supplies and troops for Guillaume, Aliscans 2268—70.

It is clear that Wolfram did not know Chançon de Willame, as it stands, and there is no convincing proof that any likeness between Chançon de Willame and Willehalm is due to a version of Aliscans with features peculiar to Chançon de Willame, but it is quite possible that Wolfram's source had an account of Vivian's death with the similarities between Chançon de Willame and Willehalm noted above under „4“.

B. Storie Nerbonesi. Published by Isola in 2 vols. Bologna, 1877—1888.

The compiler of these legends was Andrea de Barberino, who lived in Florence at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries.

Storie Nerbonesi, an Italian prose version of the Guillaume cycle, is notoriously free in its treatment of Aliscans, cuts it into pieces and distributes it in widely distant parts of the story. It is also to be observed that the testimony of Storie Nerbonesi and the French prose romance does not agree on any of the points which Frl. Nassau Noordewier brings up, so that, if we should try to weave all the material which Frl. Nassau-Noordewier suggests, into Wolfram's version, it would be difficult to account for its present distribution.

I have already discussed the story of Gyburc's stratagem and its parallel in Italian (under Siege de Barbastre). The second point of resemblance is Willehalm's flag. I quote from Frl. Nassau Noordewier. „Wolfram describes Willehalm's flag (not mentioned in the French: cf. San Marte p. 89) as a golden Star on a blue field (328, 9, cf. 364, 4). Blue and gold are also the colors

of Willehalm's coat of arms in a part of *Storie Nerbonesi* which has its source in *Aliscans*. „Fu conosciuta in poco d'ora la spada di Guglielmo e lo iscudo del corno d'oro nel campo azzuro“ (II 513)¹). Here chance must be reckoned with.“

The *Storie Nerbonesi* seem to have so much material that is of more recent date than *Wolfram*, that the similarity of the colors is not convincing, *Frl. Noordewier's* most telling point is the third, namely the description of the burial of *Rinovardo's* brothers. I quote *Frl. Nassau Noordewier* (p. 39—40). „After the second Battle of *Aliscans*, the bodies of *Gyburg's* relatives out of deference to her are embalmed at *Willehalm's* command and delivered to a king *Matribleiz*, that they may be buried in their fatherland „schôn nâch ir ê“ 465, 19. *Saltzmann l. c.* (p. 23) considers this generosity toward *Matribleiz* „ganz dem Charakter der Sage widersprechend“. *San Marte*, who does not seem to think either of the possibility that *Wolfram* may have borrowed this feature from his French source, writes: *l. c.* (p. 128) „Mit diesem bedeutsamen Zuge evangelischer Toleranz und wahrhaft christlicher Liebe auch gegen Ungläubige, gegenüber der exklusiven römisch-kirchlichen Seelenfängerei und Verfolgungssucht der chanson, führt *Wolfram* sein Werk zum völligen, und gewiß,

¹) May I call attention to a line of *Edmund Rostand's* *Cyrano de Bergerac* in which he mentions that the cadets of *Gascogne* have blue and gold chevrons? Act IV Sc. 4 *Cyr.* „Eh! bien donc nous allons au Blason de *Gascogne*, Qui porte six chevrons, messieurs, d'azur et d'or“, etc.

May I call attention also to *Al. 1171, 10 ff.* (the description of *Arofiles* shield, whose armor *Guillaume* later put on.

1171, 10 En son col ot un fort escu bouclé,
D'or et d'azur richement peinturé,
Et de sinople par grant nobilité.

Suchier, Les Narbonnais tome II introd. p. XXXV, accounts for the corno d'oro cited above: „On sait que par un malentendu des chroniqueurs le cort nes de *Guillaume* a été pris pour un cornet. *Andrea* (di *Barberino*) qui semble ignorer le nez défiguré du héros le pourvoit d'un cor d'or, qui dans la mêlée permet de le distinguer de loin parmi les combattants.“

wenigstens für den Protestanten, befriedigenden, erhebenden Abschluß.“

But here we find related in *Storie Nerbonesi* also the respect for the heathen customs with regard to the fallen kings, and the passage also stands right after the second battle of Aliscans (St. N. II 526).

The Christians bury their dead, the heathen bodies are burned, but „tutti i fratelli di Rinovardo furono soppeliti secondo il modo barbero, messi in ricche sepolture, per suo onore“, that is to say in honor of Rennewart, Gyburc's brother. It is therefore approximately the same heathen in both stories. This point is important not only for Wolfram's character, but also especially for the criticism of Willehalm. Directly after an allusion to this feature, San Marte asserts „Diese religiösen Momente gehören Wolfram an, und finden sich in den chansons nicht. (S. M. p. 130.)“

We know of no other text that might have suggested to Wolfram the honor done to the bodies of the heathen lords for love of Guiborc or Rainouart (Wh. 465, 17—468, 24), and unless we can find some other explanation for the passage, Fräulein Nassau Noordewier's hypothesis seems very plausible. If we accept it, however, we must admit a version of Aliscans quite different from those we know. Or we must at least suppose a few lines of suggestion in Wolfram's source, which he elaborated and infused with his own ideas. I do not deny such a possibility. The following objections present themselves. First, Wolfram has long before the passage in question left the versions of Aliscans known to us, and we can only trace his connection with them by occasional passages, where he comes back to them. In other words, the larger part of the second half of the poem must be either Wolfram's own invention or must be ascribed to some source outside of our versions of Aliscans. Second: The places where Wolfram does agree with the known versions of Aliscans,

are too striking to let us suppose that his version of Aliscans was very different from ours at those points. Third: Although the resemblance of the Italian passage and Wolfram is very striking, there is a great deal in Willehalm which we have still to account for in the same part of the poem. Fourth: The *Storie Nerbonesi* have led to other conjectures about the earlier form of Aliscans which have not been sustained by Chançon de Wilame (for instance, that Bernart was the messenger). Fifth: This is not the only passage in Willehalm which shows Wolfram's spirit of tolerance and respect for the enemy. The poem is full of it from beginning to end, and Sixth: It is in striking contrast to Aliscans in this respect, as San Marte has said l. c. p. 128.

The Italian *Storie Nerbonesi* does not force us to accept the theory of a different version of Aliscans as the basis of Willehalm, but it offers striking parallels, which are hard to account for, and which strengthen the probability of such a version.

C. We now turn to the prose version of the cycle in old French. It has been shown in the discussion of the branch of the cycle called *Covenanz Vivien* that the interview between Vivien and the angel is sufficiently accounted for by extant mss. of Aliscans. I admit nevertheless that the last words of the passage quoted from the *Prose Romance* fo 369 (vo): „Vivien est demouré si malade qu'il ne pençoit si nom a la mort“, are more like Wolfram's version than the corresponding line in Aliscans 404, 20 „Et Vivien remest iluec gisant“.

Wh. 49, 28—30 Vivians sich dâ zehant
stracte, sô der tôt geligt:
unkraft het im an gesigt.

Fräulein Nassau Noordewier's second point from the French *Prose Romance* is that Wolfram differs from Aliscans in ascri-

bing the plan of seeking help at court to Willehalm rather than to Gyburc, that is the rôles are inverted. The Prose Romance has the same change from Aliscans. Fräulein Nassau Noordewier herself considers it a minor point. She does not quote the passage from the Prose Romance. I infer that the likeness between it and Willehalm is not striking. We find other cases in Willehalm, where the actors have changed parts as compared with Aliscans. Halzibier is substituted for Arofel (Al. 277 f.) as the captor of Willehalm's nephews W. 47, 1—14. Willehalm slays Oukin 422: in Aliscans Bertram slays Aiquin (Al. 5639, cf. above).

There remain the two most important likenesses to Willehalm which Nassau Noordewier has discovered in the Prose Romance, and which seem to me to have been taken from a version of Aliscans more like Wolfram's than ours: namely the whole passage concerning Orleans, and the interview between Gyburc and her father. The first passage in question is to be found f. 380 r. „Puis s'en est party et a tant chevaulchie par ses journees, desquelles l'istoire ne fait pour cause de la matiere abregier nulle mention, passant mons, rivières et vaulx, que il est venu a Orleans“ etc. I summarize what Fräulein Nassau Noordewier says. After Willehalm has spent the night in a humble house in Orleans (Wh. 112, 6 ff.), he sets out on his way in the morning, but (Wh. 112, 22 ff.) a man (called 113, 10 der rihtære) demands toll of Willehalm. He thinks a knight should pay no toll (Wh. 112, 29—113, 1), a tumult ensues (113, 10 ff.). In the end the „rihtære“ is killed by Guillaume. In Aliscans there is no demand for toll, so that the appearance of the „castelains“ is not so well accounted for. The word commune does not appear in Aliscans either ¹⁾).

¹⁾ Fräulein Nassau Noordewier calls attention to Rolin's edition of Aliscans, Introduction p. XXIII. Rolin says: „Was den von Willehalm nicht entrichteten Zoll betrifft, so dürfte die ganze Stelle der beim Anhalten von Menschen (Rolin's edition of Al. 4841 Je garc l Arcant, le treu m en donnes!) üblichen Redensart „donez m'en le treu“ ihr Entstehen verdanken“.

It is very probable that Willehalm found the words „c o m m u n e“ and the equivalent of „z o l l“ in his source, as both appear in the Prose Romance, the toll amounting to 40 sous (fo. 380 vo). The word „commune“ is of value in dating the Orleans episode ¹⁾.

The word occurs again fo. 394 vo. Guillaume says: „tellement me trovay assailly de la commune que partir me firent, voussise ou non“. Nassau Noordewier says also „it appears to be no error on Wolfram's part (see Saltzmann, l. c. p. 12), when he assigns Orleans to Arnalt v. Gerunde as a residence. In the French Prose Romance Hernaus dwells there. Willehalm even spends a night with him there at his palace (fo. 381 vo). Later in the second battle of Aliscans „O r l e a n s“ is the battlecry of Hernaus (fo. 406 vo.), and when the princes return to their homes in the Prose Romance „A Orleans s'en retourna Hernault“ (fo. 427 vo.).

These passages from the Prose Romance make a strong plea for a different version of Aliscans; though it is to be noted, that the Prose Romance, and probably its source, seem to contain no allusion to the „rihter's“ wife, who has a definite rôle in Willehalm (115, 14—116, 3), also that Willehalm consents to spend the night in Orleans in the Prose Romance and not in Wolfram; yet all the likenesses to Willehalm which Fräulein Nassau Noordewier has found in the Prose Romance, can scarcely be fortuitous.

The opening words of the passage cited from the Prose Romance concerning the Orleans episode are very similar to Wh. 112, 3—5

ich enhân der zal niht vernomn,
wie maneges tages wære komn
ze Orlens der marcraûve unverzagt,

¹⁾ Rolin l. c. p. LV and note 3) thinks that the story was interpolated during the reign of Louis the Fat (1108—1187), and Nassau Noordewier considers that the word „commune“ is an indication of this.

but it is possible to explain the presence of these lines in Willehalm by saying that Wolfram felt that Aliscans 2082, if he read it in the version of *Mm*, could not be true: „Ainc une nuit ne prist herbergerie“, and modified it to make it more reasonable.

Nassau Noordewier as her last parallel from the Prose Romance to Willehalm cites the interview between Desramés and Gyburc. „After Gyburc has withdrawn to Gloriete, Desramés appears before the great gate of the Palace to treat with her (fo. 392 vo) „Parlés a moy, belle fille Orable, et deffendés que nul ne gecte ne ne traie quelque rien qui me puisse nuire, jusques a ce que vous m'aiés ouy parler. Et lors ne voulut Guibour que l'en feist nesung samblant de traire ne de lancer, sy obey chascun a son commandement“ (cf. Wh. 221, 27 „diz gespræche ergienc in eime vride“, and 254, 21—23 „die sine von im riten bater: under disem venster mir min vater sagete, aldâ er weinde hielt . . .“).

Guibour recognizes her father by his shield and asks what he wants. Desramés answers: „Vous savés que je suy le voustre pere, belle fille, et que mal faictes de guerrier contre moy, si vous voudroie requérir que celle tour et ce palaix me rendissiés et voustre corps meismes meissiés en ma mercy, par ainsi que je vous pardonneroye tout se que vous offençastes onques envers moy et envers le roy Thibaut, le roy d'Arrabbe, le quel vous reprendra a femme comme devant, car il ne desire rien tant ou monde que le voustre corps: vous serés la plus riche et la plus eueuse dame du monde, sy saichiés que moult suy desplaisant que vous vivés en telle chetiveté avecques ung simple chevalier, qui de terre na mye pour gouverner une telle dame comme vous estes, si vous conseille que vous me croiés et vous en venés plus tot que plus tart.“ Guibour is unmoved by these words and tries to persuade her father to forsake his god and receive christianity. „Si feres le saulvement de voustre ame, si vous appelleroye lors mon pere, car saichiés que jusques lors et aul-

trement ne le feray, ne plus ne vos quier de langaige tenir, se a ce ne vos acordés." When Desramés hears these words, he is much troubled: „Sainte Marie, comme fut Desramés dollant en son cueur, quant il ouy Guibour la comtesse qui ainssi respondy." After violent threats against Guibour, he returns to his camp.

This passage from the Prose Romance harmonizes pretty well with the account in Willehalm. We have two interviews between Terramêr and Gyburc in the German, one immediately after Willehalm has left Orange (109, 17—110, 30), and the other very shortly before his return (215—222, 9). The first is made up principally of Terramêr's threats and Gyburc's defiance, there are a few lines showing their religious hostility. Gyburc says

110, 21—30 ,— — ir gunêrten Sarrazîne,
etliche mâge mîne,
ir welt hie beiten grôzer nôt.
iu kumt der zwivalte tât:
doch ir mir bîetet tôde drî,
die zwêne sint iu nâhen bî;
diss kurzen lebens ende
und der sêle unledec gebende
vor iwerem gote Tervigant,
der iuch für tôren hât erkant!

But it is the second interview, which answers more closely to the one in the Prose Romance. The introductory arrangements are not given as a preface, but are only alluded to in the two places that are quoted above. There is no suggestion of how Gyburc recognizes her father, and the first direct quotation (215, 10 si sprach: „ich hân den touf genomn" etc.) suggests that the conversation had been going on for some time, and that she is answering Terramer's summons to surrender. She goes on with the praise of the God of the christians and of William, and refuses to give them up for Mahomet. She blames her father for coming to Tybalt's assistance against her. Then he answers in part as follows

Wh. 217, 9 ,ach ich vreuden arm man,
daz ich sölh kint ie gewan',
sprach Terramêr der rîche,
,daz alsô herzenliche
an sîner sælde kan verzagn
unt sich den goten wil entsagn!
ey sîeziu Gyburc¹⁾, tuo sô niht.
swaz dir ie geschach od noch geschiht
von mir, daz ist mîn selbes nôt:
jâ gieng ich für dich an den tôt.

He calls Mahomet to witness that he consented to Tybalt's entreaty, only when the priests imposed it on him as a penance (217, 10—30).

Gyburc condemns her father for trying to draw her away from the creator. She discusses the theology of the christian religion. Terramêr mocks its doctrines and winds up with the appeal 219, 22 „bekêr dich, liebiu tohter mîn.“

Gyburc explains the virtue of the crucifixion. She goes on to say that she would refuse to surrender Orange for Willehalm's sake, even if Terramêr's gods were better than her own. She is serving both her religion and her husband. She will give up Todjerne, the land that Terramêr gave her, to Tybalt, and asks her father to give it to Tybalt and Ehmereiz and let her live in poverty.

Nassau Noordewier's conclusion that Wolfram and the Prose Romance go back to a version of Aliscans different from those extant and having some features of this scene, is justified, until evidence to the contrary shall be brought. It does not seem possible to prove her case absolutely from a version, constructed so long after Wolfram's work was done. The probabilities are nevertheless strongly in favor of a version ante-dating Willehalm, containing the Orleans scene, more like the one in the Prose Romance than like those in our Aliscans mss. and containing an interview between Desramés and Guiborc,

¹⁾ Arabel (Leitzmann).

The examination of the branches of the cycle having points of contact with Willehalm not to be found in Aliscans, and of the three versions of Aliscans which are further removed from Willehalm in most respects than the poems bearing that name, have led to a strong probability that the source of Willehalm was a version of Aliscans with a number of modifications.

The results, however, do not exclude the possibility of his having had a slight acquaintance with some other branches of the cycle. The nature of this acquaintance would be most easily explained as the result of what he picked up here and there by allusion in conversation.

IV.

It is impossible that any French *chanson de geste* should have contained all that we find in Willehalm. San Marte l. c. picked out six classes of passages which Wolfram could not have found in any French epic: 1) the introductory prayer and dedication of the work, 2) the references to his own Parzival, 3) the allusions to German legendary heroes and German mythology, 4) the allusions to German poets, 5) the German geographical names, 6) allusions to gaming with dice. (Rolin p. XVI of the introduction to his edition of Aliscans takes exception to the sixth class and believes he finds traces of such references in Aliscans.)

San Marte's six classes do not account for all the divergences in Willehalm from the literature which we have examined. Some of those remaining can be traced with a certain degree of probability to four written sources: 1) the *Kaiserchronik*; 2) the open letter of Michel Mouriez, Archbishop of Arles addressed to all Christendom; 3) the *Guide de St. Jacques*, and 4) the German *Rolantsliet*.

All of these except the last will be taken up together, for they all three concern one of the most puzzling points in the relation of Willehalm to Aliscans, namely the repeated mention in the German epic (Wh. 259, 6—12; 357, 14—30; 386, 6—7; 394, 20—25; 437, 20—25) of sarcophagi on the battlefield of Aliscamps.

It is clear in the *Chançon de Willame* that, wherever the two battles did take place, according to that version it was not in the south of Arles, in the place of burial known as Aliscamps. *Chançon de Willame* does not mention the term Aliscans, it calls (cf. lines 12—19, 99—103, 140—150 etc.) the battlefield „les Archans“ or „l'Archant“ or „Larchamp“, a term which is used in Aliscans in a most bewildering way. Wolfram has made use of it consistently as the name of a river (cf. Wh. 40, 22—23; 41, 2—3; 42, 24—28 etc.). It is impossible to tell from Aliscans whether the name is applicable to water or land or both ¹⁾.

There is no allusion to the gravestones or sarcophagi in any version of Aliscans in prose or in verse, nor in any branch of

¹⁾ Al. 17 D'escus et d'armes est covers li Archans.

58—59 Et Viviëns se combat par aïr
Devers l'Archant, mais pres est de morir,

61 Viviens et en milieu de l'Archant,
Et sa boele li vait del cors issant;
A ses .ii. mains le vait ens rebotant.

101 Diex pant del conte, que pres est del morir!
Mais ne li plaist, k'encor doie finir,
Tant que Guillaumes vendra au sevelir,
Ki en l'Arcant se combat par aïr.

389 A molt gant paine est montés en l'archon,
Vint en l'Archant sous un arbre roont,
Sous un estanc vit d'aïge a fuison.

394 Viviëns est desous l'arbre en l'Archant,
Joste la mer par dalés un estant,
A la fontaine dont li rui sont corant.

404, 25 A leur nes viennent, qui sont desor l'Archant etc.

the cycle. They are not, however, a product of Wolfram's imagination.

It has been shown by R. Weeks, *Romania* XXXIV, 274 ff., that by the year 1200 Aliscans in the poem of that name was considered by Frenchmen to mean the famous burial ground called Aliscans, which lies south of Arles, and which was in reality strewn thick with sarcophagi, and is so „even unto this day“. The cemetery dated from heathen days. It had been adopted by the christians and several churches and chapels had been erected in it.

But what made Wolfram think that this was the place that was meant, and how did he know that there were sarcophagi lying there in large numbers? What made him associate them with Willehalm and Vivianz? Why did he think of their appearance there as a wonder wrought by God? ¹⁾ Gyburc says to the old Heinrich

¹⁾ Ms. *C* of Aliscans has some lines, which are not in the other mss., referring to the burial of Vivian by Guillaume after the second battle.

All the mss. have:

7364 Li quens ala Viviën regarder.

Desor l'estanc, la le porra trover.

All except *C* continue:

Li quens l'a fait en .ii. escus serrer

Et desous l'arbre belement enterrer.

C has:

Iluec le mist quant vint au desevrer

Quil l'encuida a Orenge porter

Par droite force lenfisent retorner

Li Sarr. cui dex puist craventer

Vit le Guill. ni ot que aïrer

Biaus nies dist il molt vos soloit amer

De vous me poise plus que ne puis conter

A un evesques fist la mese canter

Desus le cors fist un mostier fonder

S. Ounore en fu li mestre auter.

(Cf. below.)

Cf. J. Bédier l. c. p. 372. Bédier cites (p. 373) two lines from Aimeri de Narbonne, which indicate that the author felt Aliscans, the burial place of Vivian, to be a familiar spot: —

A. de N. 4543—4 En Aleschans Guillelmes l'enfoï; Encore i gist il ores.

Wh. 259, 4 ,diz wârn die besten vriunde mîn,
die da beliben in dem strite.
ir kirchhof ist gesegent wite
von den engelen wihe enphangen.
sus ist ez dâ ergangen.
ir heilic verch und iriu bein,
in manegem schönen sarkestein,
die nie geworhten menschen hant,
man die getouften alle vant.'

When Terramêr is armed for the second battle, he breaks out with the following complaint:

Wh. 357, 16 ,wie sul wir ritterschaft getuon
vor der getouften sarken?
mîne poynder die starken
mugen niht ze frumen voldrucken
noch hinder sich gerucken
den Rômære Lôys.
die getouften hânt für pris
daz der zouberære Jêsus
ir velt hât bestreut sus
mit manegem sarcsteine.
ir verch und ir gebeine
dar inne lît: si sint doch ganz.
der den dürninen kranz
ame kriuze ûf hete, den rûhen huot,
durh si alsôlhiu wunder tuot'.

Josweiz with his army gallops over the heath and over the sarcophagi

386, 4 — — des puneiz
was von maneger storje starc.
beidiu heide unde sarc
wart getrett al geliche.

and Wolfram reminds us of them again

394, 20 ob der getouften sarke
nu mit starken huofslegn
iht wol getretet werden megn?
jâ für wâr, ê daz diu schar
mit ir poynder voldrucke gar,
des künec Marlanz von Jerikop.

Finally in the rout the heathen are driven back over the sarcophagi to the ford over the Larkant.

Wh. 437, 20 al über die sarcsteine,
 dâ die gehêrten lâgen,
 die ze himele ruowe pflâgen,
 mit swerten an den furt gement
 wart manc esklîr, der ungewent
 was daz er fliehen solde.

Of course we may say here, as in so many other places, that Wolfram's version of Aliscans very likely contained similar passages or a suggestion which Wolfram amplified. But when we have examined the parallel material in the circular letter mentioned above and that in the Kaiserchronik, we may feel less constrained to ascribe the inspiration of these passages to a different version of Aliscans.

Emphasis should be laid on the probability that all bits of writing, which could be regarded as news, were read with eagerness, and that a begging letter addressed by a bishop to all Christendom was surer of attention then than now.

From 1202 to 1217 A. D. a man named Michel de Mouriez was archbishop of Arles. At some time during his term of office he made up his mind to appeal to Christendom to contribute funds for the restoration of one of the churches in the old burial ground des Aliscamps, namely the Church of St. Honorat¹⁾. This letter, to reach its address, must have been widely distributed. J. H. Albanis et Ul. Chevalier, *Gallis christiana novissima*: Arles 1900, col. 310—12; cf. Weeks, *Romania* XXXIV, 276.

May it not have been brought to some German court, while Wolfram was there, or may not Wolfram have met on his

¹⁾ This church is mentioned in one ms. of Aliscans namely *C*. This manuscript inserts 11 lines between 7365 and 7368, to describe how Guillaume visited Vivian's dead body after the second battle (cf. Wh. 398, 22—24). Lines 9—10 read: *Desus le cors fist un mostier fonder S. Ounoré en fu li mestre auter*.

journeyings a messenger who bore the letter from place to place?

The letter may even have come to Eisenach, while Wolfram was there, but unless Wolfram composed very rapidly, or unless he staid a very long time at Herman's court, this is less likely, for the material which may have been suggested by the letter, is introduced so late into Willehalm.

J. Bédier (*Les légendes épiques. Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange* p. 373) gives a part of the letter which would surely have interested Wolfram. Bédier translates from the Latin as follows: „Cette église a un cimetière spacieux, dans lequel reposent en nombre infini des corps de ceux qui sous Saint Charlemagne, sous saint Guillaume et sous Vivien, son neveu, ayant soutenu leur combat triomphal (Qui sub beato Karolo et beato Willelmo et Viziano, nepote eius, triumphali agone peracto, proprio sunt sanguine laureati), ont gagné pour avoir versé leur sang, la couronne des martyrs.“

If Wolfram knew the contents of this letter, which seems not improbable chronologically, he would have been interested in any further information about the graves in the cemetery of Aliscans.

Some such further information he may have obtained from the *Kaiserchronik*. Let us bear in mind that we have good evidence for believing that Wolfram was familiar with the German *Rolantsliet*, and that the *Kaiserchronik* is probably, at least in part, also from the pen of the *Pfaffen Konrad*. There is a passage in the *Kaiserchronik* which would account for Wolfram's idea that God provided beautiful coffins for the christian dead after a battle near Arles. A second reason for thinking that Wolfram may have heard this passage, is that there is another not very far away from it, which has already been suggested as a possible source of a different passage in Willehalm (by Bernhard, *Zeitschrift f. d. Phil.* vol. 32 p. 55), namely for Wolfram's

story of how Willehalm's nose was injured. This latter passage will be discussed further on.

In order to account for Wolfram's allusions to the sarcophagi, we must believe him to have known both what has been quoted from the archbishop's letter and the following lines:

Kaiserchronik. (14885—908.)

Do besaz aber der kaiser Karl
aine burch, haizet Arl.
Dâ saz er vür wâr
mêr denne siben jâr.
si habeten in unwerde.
daz wazzer under der erde
den wîn dar in truoch,
si habeten ebene genuoch.
Daz undervuor Karl mit michelen listen.
alse si di burch niht langer nemahten gefristen,
si wurfen ûf diu burgetor,
si vâhten dâ vor
mit michelem grimme.
si neheten nehainer slahte gedinge.
ir wart in iewederem taile sô vil reslagen,
deiz niemen dem anderen mac gesagen,
wie vil der wâren
die an dem wal tôt lâgen,
der cristen joch der haiden.
die tôten nemahte niemen gescaiden,
unz ez der kaiser mit got uberwant.
die cristen er dô sunterlichen vant
in wol gezierten sarken begraben.
daz mac man iemer wol ze mære sagen.

This passage alone would have suggested nothing to Wolfram. Aliscamps is not mentioned, and we have no evidence that Wolfram considered it to be situated near Arles, except these very passages referring to the gravestones. Wolfram therefore might have been familiar with this and other parts of the Kaiserchronik, without finding any connection between the just quoted lines and the story of Aliscans; but if he afterwards heard the substance of Michel de Mouriez's begging letter, it may have

started the association of ideas between the letter and the story in the Kaiserchronik. Let us sum up its similarities to the story in Willehalm and to the letter. A great battle near Arles; numberless dead. No one could distinguish the bodies of the Christians from those of the heathen; but by the aid of God the emperor Charlemagne did so; he found all the Christians buried by themselves in well adorned sarcophagi. It may be told as a wonder henceforth.

Now add the information of the circular letter. The archbishop of Arles states that in the great burial ground of Aliscamps near Arles are buried those who shed their blood as martyrs under St. William and his nephew Vivian and St. Charlemagne.

Charlemagne and the geographical situation form connecting links between the two stories.

St. William and his nephew Vivian connect de Mouriez's letter with the epic of Aliscans.

The circular letter of the archbishop must have drawn a great many people's attention at just about this date to the cemetery and have revived in many minds all of fact or legend that lay dormant in it.

It is certain that Wolfram obtained information about it that is not to be found in any ms. extant dealing with the cycle, and it seems highly improbable that he obtained information which could connect this burial place with Willehalm and Vivian, until after he had finished describing the first battle, for he makes no mention of the sarcophagi until nearly the end of the fifth book. Wh. 259, 4—12.

It is also improbable that the information stood in his ms. at this point, since Wolfram throughout his work tries to smooth away the inconsistencies and incongruities and does not scruple to introduce passages which stand in the latter part of Aliscans into the first book of his poem, for instance the description of

King Margot, Al. 5700 ff. = Wh. 35, 3 ff., and the names of Terramer's lands in Al. after 7845 pp. 495—6 CLXXXIVb 13—14, CLXXXIVc 16 = Wh. 34, 15—21, also the list of his sons Al. 4392—5 = Wh. 32, 12—17. It would certainly be more consistent to have told us of the miraculous appearance of the sarcophagi earlier, or at least to let Gyburc inform Willehalm of it immediately on his arrival, if the scout whom she mentions (232, 25), or her son Ehmereiz had informed her of it. Willehalm might have noticed the sarcophagi too on his way to or from the court.

It seems therefore most probable that Wolfram had heard of the wonder, only a short time before he puts it, at the end of the long story which Gyburc tells Heimrich Wh. 252, 29 bis 259, 12.

There is however another passage in Willehalm which might be accounted for by further information about the burial place at Aliscamps, that is Wh. 464, 1—465, 16, the story of Willehalm's finding the biers of 23 heathen kings with the epitaphs on tablets of gold set with precious stones. If he had speech with the bearer of the archbishop's circular letter, he may have found out from him that there were many sarcophagi in that field which were not of christian origin.

The messenger of the archbishop of Arles might well be familiar with the surroundings of the church for the sake of which he was trying to collect funds. The letter says, according to Bédier (*lettre circulaire de Michel de Mouriez* [1202—17] adressée à la chrétienté) „Cette terre est parée de tant de fleurs et de tant de pierres précieuses que l'on a peine à concevoir qu'elle en ait tant produit, si bien qu'on peut dire justement: Ceux-là sont une semence que le Seigneur a bénie“.

The „guide de St. Jacques“ (Codex de St. Jacques de Compostella. Pub. p. F. Fita et J. Vinson, Paris 1882), which was written for the use of pilgrims of that region, contains an allusion

to strange inscriptions there: „Tot et tanta vasa marmorea super terram sita, in nullo cimiterio nusquam possint inveniri excepto in illo. Sunt etiam diversis operibus et litteris latinis insculpta et dictatu inintelligibili, antiqua; quanto magis longe perspexeris, tanto magis longe sarcophagos videbis.“

These various bits of information combined would perhaps suffice to explain the passages in Willehalm concerning the gravestones ¹⁾.

We must now take up the story of how Willehalm lost the tip of his nose. We have referred to it in connection with Coronnement Looïs and have seen that it is told in various different ways.

Wolfram tells it in Wh. 91, 24—92, 18. Willehalm stands before the gate of Orange waiting. His enemies are in hot pursuit and Gybure still refuses to let him in.

Wh. 91, 24 der küneginne vorhte riet
daz sien marcrâven mante
daz in doch wênic schante.
,dô ir durch âventiure
bî Karl dem lampriure
nâch hôhem prise runget
und Rômære betwunget,
ein mâsen dier enpfienget dô
durh den bâbest Lêô,
die lât mich ob der nasen sehen . . . ‘

Aliscans gives a somewhat different account. The situation is the same, except that (as has been mentioned above in connection with Chançon de Willame) ni the French, Guillaume has not yet freed the christian captives. Guibors has refused to admit Guillaume. The tears run down his face, he appeals to her again and ends by saying Al. 1640:

¹⁾ Another source, the substance of which may also have been known to Wolfram, is the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervais of Tilbury (p. 990) chapter XC De coemeterio Elisii Campi. He tells of the consecration of the cemetery and of its importance, and speaks of it as the place, where Jovianus (according to a variant reading Vivianus) and Count Bertram and Aistulfus and numberless others rest in peace.

„Je sui Guillames, ja mar le meskerrés.“
Et dist Guibors: „Païen, vos i mentés,
Mais par l'apostle, c'on quiert en Noiron prés,
Anchois verré la boce sor le nes

- a Que devant Rome li fist rois Ysorez
- b C'est une enseigne, que je connois assez,
- c Et une plaie, qui est par de delez,
- d Qu'en la bataille li fist Tiebautz l'Esclers —
Qu'il vos soit porte ne guichet deffermés.“¹⁾

In Aliscans Guibors insists on the same test, when Guillaume returns from his expedition to court. (The scene extends from Al. 4054 to 4078.)

Al. 4071 Dame Guibors l'esgarde apartement,
Voit sor le nes la boce aparissant
Ke li ot fait Isorés a son brant
Tres devant Rome en la bataille grant.
Li quens l'ocist, si kel virent aucant²⁾).

All accounts agree that the incident had some connection with Rome or the Romans.

In Coronnement Looïs the incident is alluded to more than once. The first time with reference to Corsaus the giant in line 312 ‚Cil detrença a. Gu. son nes‘. The incident is recounted in lines 1035 to 1041. The scene is before the gates of Rome.

1035 Lors trestorna (Corsaus) son destrier aragon
Et trait l'espee qui li pent al giron
Et fiert Gu. par tel devision
Que le nasel et l'elme li desront,
Trenche la coife de halberc fremillon
Et les chevels li trenche sor le front
Et de son nés abat le someron.

¹⁾ Variant readings are: 1643 boce] *C* plaie; sor] *mL* souz. — 1643a *Ma* fist Guill. Y. *m* fist Corsaus le barbes. — 1643b. *m* wanting. — 1643c *M* wanting. *C* has for 1643c to 1644 ‚Ains le verai si me garise dex‘. 1643c. *m* E dune pleie ca soz loel res arez, *d* quest sor loil son saichiez. (cf. Weeks, Romania XXXV., 312 and 316.)

²⁾ Variant readings are: 4073 Isores] *m* dant Corsaut (so auch im Cor. Looïs Hartnacke) *L* Codroes; *BTb* de s. br., *a* de Monbrant, *L* lamirant. 4074 *C* wanting. en]*d* a. 4075 *C* wanting. si kel v.] *M* ce v. li etc.

Guillaume refers to it himself in the following:

Cor. Lo. 1159—1164 „Oïl“ fait-il, „la merci Deu del ciel,
 Mais que mon nes ai un poi acorcié;
 Bien sai mes nons en sera alongiez.“
 Li cuens meïsmes s'est iluec baptisiez:
 „Des ore mais, qui mei aime et tient chier
 Trestuit m'apelent, Francois et Berruier,
 Conte Gu. al cort nés le guerrier.“
 Onc puis cel nom ne li pot l'en chengier

And again he speaks of it in lines 2516—20.

Par dreit est Rome al rei de St. Denis
 Et ge meïsmes une bataille en fis,
 En som cest tertre vers Corsolt l'Arabi,
 Le plus fort ome qui de mere fust vis.
 Si me colpa le nés desus le vis.

The only feature which this version of the story has in common with Wolfram's version, and which is not in Aliscans, is that the struggle took place for the sake of the pope. San Marte l. c. p. 11 summarizes this incident in *Coronnement Looïs* as follows: „Rom wird von den Sarazenenkönigen Galafres und Tenebrez hart bedrängt. Der Pabst bittet Wilhelm um Hilfe, vereinigt sich indeß mit den Heiden, daß der Krieg durch einen Zweikampf entschieden werde. Galafres stellt hierzu den Riesen Corsolt, der Papst Wilhelmen. Nach langem Gebet Wilhelms und vielen Wechselreden, in denen jeder seine Religion rühmt, beginnt der Kampf, in welchem zwar schließlich Wilhelm dem Corsolt das Haupt abschlägt, aber selbst die Nasenspitze verliert. Daher sein Beiname „Kurznase“. Galafres zieht ab von Wilhelm verfolgt, der auch Gaifers Königreich Apulien von den Heiden befreit, wofür ihm dieser seine Tochter zur Gemahlin anbietet etc.“

It would seem possible that Wolfram found it hard to explain who Ysorez or Corsolt might be, and what they were doing before Rome, for we have seen that probably he was not familiar with *Coronnement Looïs* (cf. II, above pp. 76—80.) Wolfram, as we have already suggested, may have been familiar with the Kai-

serchronik, and in that case may have been reminded of a passage in it by the association of ideas connected with a fight at Rome in the time of Charlemagne.

Wolfram could use the circumstances of the fight at Rome given in the Kaiserchronik (14309—14885), without coming into conflict with what he knew of Guillaume and his relations with Charlemagne. Wolfram tells us that Willehalm and his brothers were sent by their father to Charlemagne to fight in his service and win fiefs by their valor. „Der alte Heimrich“ says:

W. 6, 9 ,der keiser Karl hât vil tugent:
iur starken lîbe, iur schoene jugent,
die antwurt in sîn gebot.
des muoz in wenden hôhiu nôt,
ern rîche iuch immer mêre.

Wolfram knew also that Guillaume had proved himself a valiant defender of Charlemagne's heir, and that he was a mighty veteran soldier at the time of Charlemagne's death. He even held the balance of power. Willehalm reproaches Louis with his ingratitude, when he applies to him for help as follows :

Wh. 145, 16 ,hêr kûnic, nu wænt ir kreftic sîn:
gab ich iu rœmsche krône
nâch alsô swachem lône
als von iu gein mir ist bekant?
daz rîche stuont in mîner hant:
ir wârt der selbe als ir noch sît,
dô ich gein al den fûrsten strît
nam, die iuch bekanten
und ungern ernanten
daz si iuch ze hêrren in erkûrn.
sie vorhten daz se an iu verlûrn
ir werdekeit unde ir prîs:
ine gestatt in niht deheinen wis,
sine müesen iuch ze hêrren nemn.

— — — — —
146, 4 dô genuzzet ir vil maneger nôt
die ich durch iweren vater leit,
maneges sturmes, die ich streit:
ich hân ouch vil durch iuch gestriten.

Wolfram got most of this from Aliscans. The situation is the same.

Al. 2754 „Loeï, sire, chi a male saudee.
 Quant a Paris fu la cours asamblee,
 Ke Charlemaine ot vie trespassee,
 Vil te tenoient tuit cil de la contree.
 De toi fust France toute desiretee,
 Ja la corone ne fust a toi donee,
 Quant je soffri por toi si grant mellee,
 Ke maugré aus fu en ton cieï posee
 La grans corone, ki d'or est esmeree.
 Tant me douterent, n'osa estre vee.
 Mauvaise amor m'en avés hui mostree!“
 „Voir“, dist li rois, „verités est provee!

The story is repeated in Aliscans 3102—21. There is little suggestion in Aliscans of Guillaume's mighty deeds of valor under Charlemagne, they are only implied by the power that Guillaume wields at Charlemagne's death, and by the fear of the other lords.

Al. 3102 „Loeïs sire“, dist Guillaumes li ber,
 „Quant on te vaut dou tot desirer
 Et fors de France et chacier et jeter,
 Je te reteng si te fis corouer:
 Tant me douterent ne l'oserent veer; etc.

3113 Tos les barons fis a ton pié aler,
 N'i ot si cointe ki l'osast refuser.

It may have seemed to Wolfram harmonious with his conception of Willehalm as a warrior-saint to explain his fight at or near Rome in connection with the defence of the pope. Wolfram proves by his version of the nose story that he knew Charlemagne had given aid to the pope against rebellious subjects. A few hundred lines of the Kaiserchronik, 14309 to 14885 relate how Charlemagne brought assistance to Pope Leo. It is worthy of remark that these lines lead up to those already quoted from the Kaiserchronik in connection with the gravestones near Arles.

The Kaiserchronik in the passage alluded to (lines 14308—14885) represents Pope Leo as Charlemagne's brother. Charlemagne is bidden by a voice from heaven to go to Rome to his

brother's assistance. He obeys and sits in judgment there over those worldly princes who take the tithes due to the pope. He returns home. But the Romans scorn the promise they had made him. They blind the pope and send him to the king to Ingelneheim. The pope relates the revolt of the Romans, and Charles promises help. He collects an army and marches on Rome, but within sight of it he waits for a certain man, who proves to be Gerolt. The king tells him he was waiting for him. The king pushes back his visor and kisses him. The others wonder who the favored one is. Gerold leads the Suabians. After seven days and nights of fighting the Romans open their gates. Then the trial and punishment of the Romans is related. The pope recovers his sight at the prayers of Charles, and the latter, after establishing the „pfafte“, goes on to subdue his enemies in Apulia and Sosinnia. He has struggles with the Westphalians, Frisians and Saxons. He founds the bishopric of Bremen and then goes to Spain, he fights a battle at Navarre and goes from there to the seven years siege of Arles.

It is plain that only by a very generous interpretation can we think of the foregoing as Wolfram's source for his setting of the nose story. Bernhardt, as I have mentioned before, first suggested the relationship in the *Zeitschrift f. d. Phil.* vol. 32, p. 55.

That the Romans revolted against Leo, and that Charlemagne subdued them for him, was very likely a part of the historical stock in trade of every man of culture at Wolfram's time, and we are perhaps over exerting ourselves to find a written source for Wolfram's information. His statements of the circumstances under which Willehalm fought, when he lost the tip of his nose, namely that Charlemagne was leader, that the fight was in behalf of Pope Leo and was for the purpose of subduing the Romans, would tally with the *Chronik*, but the important circumstance that Willehalm formed a part of the expedition for the relief of the pope, is only to be found in *Coronnement Loois*, in

which the other circumstances do not correspond. We are driven again to a choice of alternatives; Wolfram's version of Aliscans may have contained the story as he gives it, or he may have obtained his material, as we have suggested, from the *Kaiserchronik*, or he may have known an oral tradition of Charlemagne and Pope Leo and adapted it to fit the case.

If the passage about the miracle at Arles did not stand in the same manuscript, I should hesitate to mention the *Kaiserchronik* as a possible source of information. The few lines about the burial at Arles correspond so well, however, to those in which the sarcophagi are first mentioned in *Willehalm*, that, until other evidence is brought, I believe them to be the source for that passage, and hence think it probable that Wolfram had also heard the preceding passage. We may also believe that, if Wolfram had scraps of information about different branches of the cycle, he may have known the tradition that Guillaume lost the tip of his nose at Rome in defense of the pope (Cor. Loois).

There is no exact proof that Wolfram knew either the *Kaiserchronik* or the Circular Letter of Michel de Mouriez or the *Guide de St. Jacques*, but there is an interesting and plausible argument in favor of his having had some knowledge of them.

B. The case is different with the German *Rolantsliet*.

San Marte gives up a chapter of his book to proofs that Wolfram was familiar with it, and these proofs have never been refuted.

A few additions should probably be made to San Marte's list. Any portion of *Willehalm* which can fairly be attributed to Wolfram's knowledge of the *Rolantsliet*, is pretty well accounted for and does not need to find a place in the lost version of Aliscans put at Wolfram's disposal by Herman of Thuringia.

The additional possible parallels between Pfaffe Konrad's Rolantsliet and Willehalm are as follows :

1. The name „Kliboris“ appears four times in Willehalm 358, 29—30, Cliboris der starke, der künec von Tananarke, 359, 22—3 speak of Cliborise as son of Haropin the Tananarkoys 409, 19 Cliboris von Tananarke, and 410, 1 sus kom mit hurte Clyboris. In the mss. of the German Rolantsliet we find the name Olyboris which corresponds to Cliboins in the French Chanson de Roland. It seems probable that in the ms. of the Rolantsliet known to Wolfram the name was „Clyboris“. It is worth noting that another name from the Rolantsliet, not in the Chanson de Roland, „Zernubilé“ (cited by S. Marte), is used by Wolfram in close connection with that of Kliboris Wh. 360, 6. 407, 20. 408, 1. 409, 7. 410, 23. 411, 2 and Klyboris is killed by the sword „Preziösen, daz der künec truoc, den der keiser Karl sluoc. daz wart genomen ze Runzevâl.“ (Wh. 410, 25—27.)

2. di uon Ualle Penuse p. 275 (line 27 of Grimms edition of the Rolantsliet) seems to account for Wh. 349, 27, and 387, 16 der künec von Valpinôse. This geographical name is one of the few in Willehalm for which a source has not been found somewhere.

3. si sezzent si ze ir zil

unt schiezent dar zu (Rol. liet. p. 10 lines 7—8)
suggest the following lines in Willehalm's speech to the assembled leaders in the council of war at Orange before the second battle of Aliscans :

Wh. 297, 13—19 (mîn sweher ist ûf mich geritn,
den getouften wîben sint gesnitn
ab die brüste, gemarteret sint ir kint,
die man in gar erslagen sint)
und ûf gesetzt ze manegem zil:
swer dar zuo schiezen wil,
den hânt die heiden desten baz. — — —

I give my next suggestion with some hesitation, as the parallel is not very close. Still I will offer it for what it is worth.

4. The Rolantsliet 15, 3 ff. reads as follows:

siben hundert olbenden,
di wilt du ime senden
mit golde geladen,
so die meist mügen getragen.
dar zu uunfcich karren
uf sinen hof zeuvoren
der roten bisanten
ze eren den uranchen.

The passage describes a present from a heathen to a christian and contains some points of resemblance to the present offered as a ransom by Arofel to Willehalm.

Wh. 79, 15—21 Arofel âne schande
bôt drîzec helfande
ze Alexandrie in der habe,
und daz man goldes nâme drabe
swaz si mit arbeite
trûegen, und guot geleite
al dem horde unz in Pâris.

The only suggestion in Aliscans is that Arofel will buy back his horse for twice its weight in gold.

5. The opening lines of the Rolantsliet seem to have suggested a part of the beginning of Willehalm.

Schephare allir dinge!
cheiser allir chuninge!
wol, du oberister ewart,
lere mich selbe diniu wort!
du sende mir zemunde
din heilege urkunde,
daz ich die luge uirmide,
die warheit scribe
uon eineme turlichem man,
wie er daz gotes riche gewan:
daz ist Karl der cheiser.
uor gote ist er,
want er mit gote uberwant
vil manige heideniske lant
da er di cristin hat mit geret,
alse uns daz bûch leret.
Karl der was Pipines sun.

- Wh. 1, 1 Âne valsch dû reiner,
dû dri unt doch einer,
schephære über alle geschafft,
âne urhap din stætiu kraft
âne ende ouch belibet.
- 2, 23 diu helfe diner güete
sende in mîn gemüete
unlôsen sin sô wise,
der in dinen namen geprüe
einen riter der din nie vergaz.
- 3, 4 er liez en wâge iewedern tôt,
der sêle und des libes,
durch minne eines wibes
er dicke herzenôt gewan.
lantgrâf von Dürngen Herman
tet mir diz mæ von im bekant.
er ist en franzoys genant
kuns Gwillâms de Orangis.

Of these five suggestions the first and second seem the hardest to challenge. The others are probable, because of the certainty that Wolfram knew this poem.

The sources outside the cycle that have been discussed or mentioned, are the Kaiserchronik, the letter of the archbishop Michel Mouriez of Arles, the Guide de St. Jacques and the German Song of Roland.

The first would furnish an explanation for two passages in Willehalm, if taken in conjunction with other evidence. The Kaiserchronik alone would not combine with Aliscans to furnish Wolfram's version.

The letter of the archbishop alone would not solve the mystery of Wolfram's passages about the gravestones. The guide de St. Jacques alone would have suggested less than the letter of the archbishop, but adds something to it.

If we assume that Wolfram came in contact with the messenger of the archbishop and thus received information from an eye witness of the appearance of Aliscamps, the messenger may also have told him of the „kastänen boume ein schache mit

winreben hôch“, Wh. 88, 26; cf. Bernhardt (Z. f. d. Ph. 32, p. 57) and San Marte p. 39.

The Rolandsliet stands alone as a positive source of information which can hardly be disputed. Wolfram, however, found several allusions to it in Aliscans and simply added to them.

Before dealing in detail with Wolfram's relation to the separate manuscripts of Aliscans, it is necessary to discuss the more general questions of his ability to read and write, and of his knowledge of French. We have his own statements with regard to both questions, but we do not know how seriously he made them.

V.

San Marte in chapter VI l. c. contends against Holland's opinion that Wolfram could read and write. Holland maintained that Parzival 115, 27 „ine kan decheinen buochstap“ and Willehalm 2, 19—22.

swaz an den buochen stêt geschriben
des bin ich künstelôs beliben.
niht anders ich gelêret bin:
wan hân ich kunst, die git mir sin,

were not meant literally, that they were said ironically as digs at the pedantic poets, who were not first of all knights like himself. San Marte shows how H. von Aue, who could read and write, proudly states the fact three times over. He infers that Wirnt von Grafenberg could write and therefore also read, but that Wolfram's master H. von Veldeke probably could not write.

San Marte interprets Parzival 115, 25—116, 4 „If my „âventiure“ related only what Kyot's book contained, it would be as bald and bare as I in my bath; what I have added was not taught me by Kyot's book or any other. My own „sin“ inspired me with that.“

Holland's supposition that the poets were too poor to hire a secretary or clerk and to buy parchment and the original mss.,

that they wandered from castle to castle, teaching reading and writing as well as amusing the guests, finds no favor with San Marte. He takes Wolfram's words literally. This is indeed the most natural thing to do. San Marte uses the changes which proper names undergo at Wolfram's hands, to estimate his understanding of French; these changes are, however, equally interesting in determining his ability to read and write ¹⁾).

Would a man who could read and write, put down *Puzzât* for *Beauchant*, *Terramêr* for *Desramés*, *Gwigrimanz* for *Guine-mans*, etc.?

If there were not such a plain tendency to the German pronunciation of French words, the problem would not be so simple.

There are, however, numerous examples of the characteristic change of B to P and D to T, which changes are easily and naturally accounted for in passing orally from the French to the German, although it is not so easy to determine at what point in the series of transfers they occurred. If the French poem was read aloud to Wolfram by a German, the reader's pronunciation may have been so poor that Wolfram must have supposed initial B to be P, and initial D to be T, secondly the reader's pronunciation may have been excellent, and Wolfram's own ear and tongue may have been at fault, thirdly the ear of the scribe may have been to blame. The last supposition cannot account for all the changes. Those, for instance, that occur at the end of rhyme words *Puzzât*, *Terramêr*, etc. must have been accomplished by the reader or by Wolfram, and on the whole it seems more unlikely that the scribe should have misunderstood Wolfram, than that Wolfram or the reader should have mispronounced the French.

There are so many names given with much accuracy that it

¹⁾ cf. E. Martin, *Parzival* II. ps. VIII ff. Lichtenstein, *Beitr. z. G. d. d. Spr.* XX, 59 ff.

does not seem likely that the modifications were intentional. The only name for which an intentional change seems probable, is that of Terramér, and if we test this case, it seems not impossible that in the ms. the two „s“ in „Desramés“ were sufficiently like an „r“ to make the reader blunder. The only other change is the regular one from D to T. It would probably have sufficed for Wolfram, if the reader made the blunder the first time he came upon the name. Wolfram's first impressions appear to have been very deep, and as his aim was not an exact translation, he would see no occasion to change what he had accepted at first.

San Marte suggests (p. 119, foot) the possibility that the reader and the scribe may have been the same person. This theory seems to me untenable just on account of the above mentioned changes. A man who had read these names so many times over, must have written them with the initial letter he had seen, even if Wolfram pronounced them wrong, unless he were trying to make fun of Wolfram's pronunciation. Wolfram would surely have been on sufficiently friendly terms with his scribe to prevent such a protracted joke at his expense.

In discussing Wolfram's ability to understand French, San Marte quotes a Latin letter, which Hermann von Thuringia's father ostensibly gave his sons to take with them to Paris and present by way of introduction to Louis VII of France in the year 1161, when the boys were 10 or 12 years of age. The letter and the journey have not been proven authentic¹⁾, however, and we need clearer evidence that French was well understood at Hermann's court. It seems likely, but even so it is not proven that Wolfram made the most of his opportunities there. His own statement, Willehalm 237, 3—7, *herbergen ist loschieren genant* etc., is open to a wide interpretation: it may be the modesty of a man who knows that, altho' he may consider himself wellversed in a foreign

¹⁾ Yet cf. E. Martin, Parzival II, p. X.

tongue, he cannot have the same command of it as a peasant whose native language it is, or it may mean simply that he freely confesses that he does not know very much French. He certainly takes much pleasure in the scraps that he weaves into his poem, and some of the cases where his critics have thought they detected absurd mistakes, have turned out to be blunders on the part of the critics, for instance Aliscans 768, „Mon palais a Termes“ has justified „Ey Termis min palas“ Willehalm 63, 5. Some critics have thought Wolfram made Joserans out of Aliscans 9:

En .XXX. leus fu rous ses jaserans,

but the following examples give reason to believe that a hero of that name stood in Wolfram's text, among Guillaume's nephews. Al. 1845 which exists only in mss. *am*,

Gaudins li bruns et li preus Joserans
m li bons bers Joserans

and Al. 1846 according to ms. *b*

Et Jocerans et li preuz Vivians;

also after Al. 410, 24 *d* supplies

Gautier de Termes o le prou Joserant.

I agree to San Marte's conclusions, namely: First, that Wolfram received a French book from Landgrave Hermann concerning the deeds of William of Orange.

Secondly, he had the book read aloud to him and reproduced the contents in German verses.

Thirdly, he did not bind himself so closely to it that his work can be considered as an exact translation.

Fourth, the battle of Aliscans must be considered to be his principal source.

His fifth and last conclusion needs to be more carefully stated; he says that Wolfram was familiar with other poems, from which he took certain features and allusions. This should not be taken to mean that, because Wolfram knows some feature of

a poem, we can infer that he had heard the whole poem. What San Marte says, p. 114, in criticism of Holland, is applicable here. „The court epics were recited at courts and castles, and the Volk-epics in the streets, and his (Wolfram's) learning hardly went further, than what he shows. He had surely picked up his crumbs of information about Plato, Pythagoras, etc., not from books but in conversation. And his theology came from the lips of priest and people“. In the same way we may infer that his scrappy knowledge of other branches of the cycle came from intercourse with those that knew more of them than he did, but without his having any direct opportunity to hear the poems, if indeed these allusions were not in his own version.

Wolfram's manuscript of Aliscans was not like ours. This is evident. First, because none of the mss. which we know, is old enough to have been Wolfram's source. (The Arsenal ms. *a* is a possible exception, but it is so much more different from Willehalm than several other that it does not help us.) Second, because we find that Willehalm lies closer to one ms. in one place and to another elsewhere, sometimes to *M*, sometimes to *m* and *d* and *L*. Third, the Kitzinger Bruchstücke offer the same characteristic and correspond sometimes to *M*, sometimes to *m*, to *d*, to *e*, to *L* (see below). They also have one proper name (Monsorel) p. 40. III. 105, in nearly the same form as Willehalm 428, 21 (Munsurell), whereas the French mss. have Aliscans 6003 *b* Montabel, *Td* monrabel, *e* montabeil, *L* morindel, *V* verderel, *M* mont mel (Rolin montamel).

In German. Studien. I. 134 Suppl. zur Germania 1872 p. 155 ff. Suchier has drawn attention to these points, but since then more mss. have been published. It is hardly to be assumed that the author of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke took „Monsorel“ from Willehalm. I submit the passage first as in Aliscans, second as in the Kitzinger Bruchstücke, third as in Willehalm.

Al. 6003 Occis nos a Guion de Montabel,
Renier de Perche et Girart de Bordel.
Par Aleschans fait de sanc tel ruissel,
Se dex n'en pense, qui sauva Daniël,
Encui perdra Guillaumes son revel.

K. Br. p. 40. III 105 ff. er sloec dot Guion van Monsorel,
Reinier van Anjou
unt Girart van Bordel.
of den Archant
det er van bloete grossen vloess —
„Guillam sal al sin here verliesen
im helfe god mit sime goete gross.

Wh. 428, 19 ff. Purrels ors mit hurt in truoc
dem sune ze helfe, dā er sluoc
Kînnen von Munsurel
und Remôn, des lop was hel,
ûz Daniu den barûn,
sus beschutter sînen sun.
dā lag ouch tôt von siner hant
der werde ûz Purdel Girant.
von Poytouwe Anshelm lac dā tôt.
des vater leit die selben nôt:
der hiez Hûc von Lunzel.
die fûnve sluoc dā Purrel.
Noch grœzer schade von im geschach.
den kûnec von Nubiant man sach
eine strāze houwen durch daz wal.
der getouften viel sô vil ze tal,
daz witer rûm umb in wart.

Rolin's (p. XXXI) remarks on this passage are interesting „428, 21 G i o n d e M o n s o r e l richtiger als Var. 6003 und 6019.“ „428, 22—3 R e m ô n û z D a n i u d e n b a r û n ist ohne Zweifel Raimond d'Anjou.“

„428, 26 Girant ûz Purdel, ein dem Reime angepaßtes, assonierendes Girard. 428, 27. A n j o u brachte Poitou mit sich. 428, 29. H û c v o n L u n z e l ist entweder (Rolin) 4767 — (Qui estoit fais de cuir de lioncel) oder (Handschrift) a 6018 Que je fis faire au fevre Lionel entnommen“.

If the author of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke had taken his

reading from Willehalm, he would not have the other names Guion, Reinier, Girart and Bordel like the French and unlike Willehalm. If, however, Wolfram and the author of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke had the same or similar mss. to work from, it is easy to explain that Wolfram strayed further from the mss., because he could neither read nor write.

„Remôn“ would arise from a blunder by the person who reas aloud to Wolfram, or according to Rolin's hypothesis, Wolfram would have changed the name intentionally. Rolin would be right about „Dâniû“ and „Girant“. (The „Daniel“ Aliscans 6006 may have slipped in through the scribe, who substituted „Perche“ for „Danju“ in 6004.)

San Marte and Saltzmann did not have access to a sufficient variety of readings of Aliscans to deal with the relation of Willehalm to them.

Jonckbloet had noticed that Wolfram's version was remote from *a*, the Arsenal ms., and this judgment has been confirmed by all following critics.

Rolin (pp. XII and XXXII) states that Willehalm resembles *Mm(L)* most closely. There are also several conspicuous resemblances between *d* and Wolfram.

Leitzmann (Untersuchungen und Quellen zur germanisch. und rom. Phil. Prag. 1908, „Zu den Kitzinger Fragm.“ pp. 387—399) has made a comparison of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke with the mss. of Aliscans and comes to the conclusion that the source of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke was most like *Mm(Ld)*. The idea at once suggests itself that Wolfram had the same source. This assumption would entail a good deal that is hard to believe, and there are two clear reasons against it.

The first is that the Kitzinger Bruchstücke (Blatt III p. 41 line 135 to Blatt IV p. 53 1, 180) contain an account of Renwart's struggles with Agrapart and Walegrape, and that we have good reason to believe that no fights with monsters were mentioned in Wolfram's ms. of Aliscans.

The other reason is that the names of the four kings killed by Renwart, after he freed Willehalm's captive nephews, do not tally between the Kitzinger Bruchstücke and Willehalm, whereas we can find close correspondences for the names given in both German versions in separate French mss.

In connection with the first reason it should be stated that Wolfram makes no allusion to the monster fights, and that we can find only two possible exceptions to the statement that there is nothig in Willehalm which can be connected with anything in the long passage in Aliscans (lines 6023 to 6778 plus the 1270 lines not in *a*), which contains them¹).

The two possible exceptions are:

1. Aliscans 6341 tout l'or de Halape

which Bernhardt claims as the source of Happe in Wolfram's list of Terramêr's kingdoms:

Wh. 34, 14 ân ander sîniu zinslant
diende im Happe und Suntin etc.

¹) The account in the Kitzinger Bruchstücke is only 251 lines long and is much shorter than that in any version of Aliscans which contains them at all. Every *laisse* from which lines appear in the Kitzinger Bruchstücke, is found in ms. *m* of Aliscans. There is one striking resemblance in the account of the conflicts in ms. *C* to the Kitzinger Bruchstücke. The name of one of Renwart's brothers in the list which he gives (Aliscans 6363—68 and Kitzinger Bruchstücke IV. lines 108—113):

Aliscans 6365 has according to *C* Escladubiaus

Kitzinger Bruchstücke IV, 111 has unt (= et) Claudubais“.

None of the other mss. of Aliscans come nearer than „Esclariax“.

Two other names on the German list do not correspond with any in the French list: Kitzinger Bruchstücke IV. 1, 110 Bornus unt Batres.

The account of the conflicts between Renwart and the monsters is inserted a little earlier in the Kitzinger Bruchstücke than in the French. In Aliscans it follows *laisse* CXXI c. In the Kitzinger Bruchstücke the account occurs at a point which would make it necessary to insert it between *laisses* CXXI and CXXIa after line 6022. (This numbering does not indicate the gap between Aliscans 6022 and 6023; there are 278 lines in *laisses* CXXIa, b and c, and 49 lines from CXXIa and b appear later in the Kitzinger Bruchstücke. No lines from CXXIc appear in the fragments).

2) There are certain passages which might be construed as having suggested the lament for Rennewart (Wh. 452, 15—458, 23) and a few lines of the opening prayer Wh. 2, 1—12;

Al. laisse CXLVIIa page 383: lines 5—8 (in mss. *deCm*)

5 „Dex“, dist Guillaume, „Rainouart ai perdu;
Mené l'en ont li cuvert malostru.
Or sai je bien, mi home sont vaincu.
S'il le seüst, tost fussiés secoru“.

Al. laisse CXLVIIb page 384: lines 5—21 and 32—41 (*deCm*)

5 Ancui sera Rainouars mal baillis.
Molt le regrete Aïmer li chaitis,
Sor tous les autres Guillaume li marchis.
Mais as couars n'en est ne gus ne ris,
Ains le regretent et pleurent a haus cris:
„Rainouars, sire, bons cevaliers eslis,
Se te pardons, Rainouars, bias amis,
N'i a celui, ne soit de la mort fis.“
Li quens Guillaume fu forment esbahis;
Une orison commence li marchis:
„Glorious dex, qui le mont establis
Et home et feme destinas et fesis,
Osiar et bestes et les grans gaus foillis
Et ciel et terre, infier et paradis,
Les egues douces et les poisons petis;
Le soleil, sire, fesis, dex Jhesu Cris,
Et car et sanc en la vierge presis.

— — — — —

32 Si com c'est voirs et jel croi et devis,
De Rainouart soies gardes et fis.
Gardés son cors, que il ne soit ocis.“
Et quant li quens ot tous ses dis fenis,
Monjoie! escrie, s'a François esbaudis.
Don refu grans et fors li poigneïs.
Mais as couars est grans li ploreïs,
Por Rainouart est cascuns esmaris.
Li auquant doutent qu'il ne soit convertis
Et vers paiens alés et relenquis.

Comparison with the references in Willehalm show that the resemblances are only general ones, and that they prove little for Wolfram's knowledge of the passages that have just been cited. They are not strong enough to create conviction that these

passages stood in Wolfram's version of *Aliscans*. Hence we do not need to believe that any portion of the long passage concerning the monster fights (Al. 6023—6778) stood in Wolfram's ms. of *Aliscans*.

Moreover we find passages close together in the German which seem to show reference to passages in *Aliscans*, both just before 6023, the beginning, and just after 6778, the end of the account of the monster fights. For example it seems highly probable that the three *laissez* (CXXIa, b, c) which lie between lines 6022 and 6023, were in Wolfram's version, and the similarities between the French and German come as close as the last line before the account and the fourth line after it. Compare the following.

Aliscans p. 359 *laisse* CXXIc lines 47—54

Un suen frere a Rainouart conseü,
La teste o l'iaume fist voler el palu.
„Monjoie!“ escrie; „Guillaumes, ou es tu?
Por toi ai mort un mien frere Jambu;
Si ferai je Desramé le chanu“.
Païen l'entendent, si ont levé le hu.
Plus de .x.m. i sont corant venu
Por Desramé, que il ont secoru.

(The monster fights, 1270 lines intervene)

6782 Devant lui garde, s'a veü Triboë

6783c Puis a ocis Cador et Tempesté

Wh. 442, 14—30 den strît mit hurte underreit

der künec von Lanzasardîn:

Canliûn tet dâ wol schîn

daz er sinen vater sach

ungern in sôlhem ungemach.

an den kom dô Rennewart:

des was der bruoder ungespart:

von dem wart Canliûn erslagn.

sine kunden niht ein ander sogn

von deheiner künde ê.

Rennwart den künec Gibûê

unz ûf den swertvezzel schriet.

durch al der sarringe niet

er sluoc den künec Malakîn.

Câdor muose der vierde sîn

und dem jungen künec Tampastê

tet er ouch mit dem tôde wê.

Quotations from the Kitzinger Bruchstücke, Aliscans and Willehalm are necessary to make the second point clear, but the presentation of these quotations proves the case without much further comment. Renwart is trying to secure horses for Willehalm's nephews, whom he has already provided with arms. He slays the heathen in great numbers, but slays their horses with them.

Kitz. Br. I. 165 do sloeg er dot Malquidant
 Samuel, Samul unt Samuant,
 daz nie orse lebendinc
 von danne quam.

Al. 5446 A l'autre cop ra ocis Malquidant
 Et Samuël, Samul et Salmuant

Wolfram brings in the episode a little earlier, before the nephews are freed. Rennewart is avenging the death of his friend Milon von Nivers:

Wh. 413, 25 den rach er alsus schiere.
 er sluoc werder kûnege viere,
 Fabûren unde Samirant,
 Samûeln unde Oukidant.

The variants in Aliscans are: 5446. Malquidant] *M* macudant. *a* Samul] *b* bauurs, *B* sanmurs, *T* samurs, *m* samur, *M* saumul, *d* fabur, *L* tanoc. *a* Salmuant] *b* samiant, *TBM* samuant, *d* salbuant, *m* boidant, *L* malprient.

From the foregoing arguments I draw two conclusions.

First. The source of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke as a whole was probably more closely related than any extant ms. of Aliscans to Wolfram's source.

Second. Wolfram's source contained certain readings more closely akin to readings in some extant mss. of Aliscans (*MmLd*) than to the corresponding readings in the source of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke.

We now proceed to a comparison of the extant mss. and we shall see what claims each has to relationship with Wolfram's source.

There are 13 tolerably complete mss. of Aliscans extant. Of these *P* is so little known that it is seldom brought into question. We know, however, from a few lines of it that have been printed (in the introduction to Guessard's edition of Aliscans), that it is not Wolfram's lost source, and that it has much in common with the mss. that lie distant from Wolfram's source (*AbBT*).

Of the remaining 12 mss., *a*, *b*, *d*, *e*, *m*, *A*, *B*, *C*, *L*, *M*, *T*, *V*, we can make a few general divisions. *ABbT* form quite a distinct group, and it is very rare that a reading in that group comes nearer to Wolfram's source than a reading of some of the other mss. *a* is the well known „Arsenal“ ms. It belongs alone and is rarely nearer Wolfram's source than the others. *V* has no independent readings which affect its relationship to Wolfram's source. It is closely connected with *L*, which has occasional readings closely related to those of Wolfram's source, but is less often in harmony with it than the following group.

The group of mss. which most frequently resembles Wolfram's source, consists of *d*, *e*, *m*, *C*, *M*. Of this group *M* shows the most marked and frequent resemblances to Willehalm, but it will be seen a little further on that it is impossible nevertheless to regard *M* as Wolfram's source.

The article by Lorenz (Z. f. r. Ph. 31, 385 ff.) on the relation to one another of the Aliscans mss. maintains that *M* is nearest the original text of Aliscans. He rejects however the group *MmLdC* accepted by Wienbeck (in the introduction to the Halle edition p. XIII.), and prefers the group *adLC*. He quotes readings to show this relation: The evidence of the Kitzinger Bruchstücke and of Wolfram's Willehalm is convincing that there was a text of Aliscans uniting different features of *MmLd(C(e))* and very remote from *a*. Lorenz' emphasis on the importance of *M* bears out the impressions gained from comparing Willehalm with Aliscans. He admits that *mCdL* must have had

access to the source of *M* or a ms. nearly related to it. It will be admitted by all who have examined the variants, that *M* is at one pole and *AbBT* at the other, and by all who have compared the variants with Willehalm, that the German poem is rarely in harmony with *AbBT* against *M*. There is left the debatable ground of *d(e)L(C)m*. We can find something in favor of each ms. as a source for Willehalm, and much more against each. It will be well to give a general description of the principal characteristics of each of the Aliscans mss. which more or less nearly resemble Willehalm.

M is now in St. Mark's library at Venice. It is a short ms., it contains neither the episodes of the smithy and St. Vincent's monastery nor the fights with monsters. It ends before any other ms. which pretends to be complete, and it is the only version of Aliscans which has not some other branch of the cycle bound up with it. It is apparently nearer the original text in its content than other mss. On the other hand, it was copied by an Italian, who hardly understood what he was writing, and it often has readings which would be incomprehensible without the help of the other texts.

All the omissions which have been mentioned, draw *M* closer to Willehalm. The other manuscripts of Aliscans contain more material foreign to the German epic than *M* does. But even *M* has some such material.

M, however, omits a number of lines and groups of lines, which are in other manuscripts and seem to have been in Wolfram's source. Such are:

- 1) Al. 1196—99 from Laisse XXXVII¹⁾.

The situation in Aliscans is the discussion between Aerofle and Guillaume, before they come to blows. Aerofle is speaking:

¹⁾ *M* contains less than half of the laisse. The 41 lines which form the laisse in *M*, have a separate numbering in the Halle edition. They are lacking in mss. *a* and *d*. Some of these 41 lines are translated almost verbatim by Wolfram.

Al. 1196 „Jou te lairoie aler a sauveté
Dusqe a Orenge, la mirable cité.
Puis la rendrai mon frere Desramé
Et ta moillier au roi Tiebaut l'Escler.
Par tel maniere serons nos acordé.

These just quoted lines seem the nearest approach in Aliscans to what Arofel says in his speech to Willehalm, after the christian hero has cut off his thigh.

Wh. 80, 10 ,ey bruoder tohter, daz ich dîn
mit schaden ie sus vil engalt!
Arable unde Tybalt,
lægt ir für mich beide erslagen,
iweren tât man minre solde klagen'.
der kûnec niwan der wârheit jach.
der marcrâve mit zorne sprach
,du garnest al mîn herzesêr,
und daz dîn bruoder Terramêr
mîne besten mâge ertötet hât etc.

2) One entire *laisse* is missing from *M*, which contains one word not used elsewhere in Aliscans. The word has a counterpart in Willehalm.

The *laisse* is no. CXVII. The word is *Boutentrot*.

Al. 5783 Molt a ocis de Turs den Boutentrot¹⁾.

In Willehalm the king who brings Terramêr his helmet is called 356,19 Samirant von Boitendroit.

As in both cases the word seems to signify the name of a heathen country, it is probable that Wolfram got his word from this passage. (Rolin pointed out this parallel l. c. p. XXVIII.)

3) Aliscans 5a contains the names of two of Guillaume's nephews. Both names find correspondences in Willehalm.

The line stands only in mss. *B* and *C*.

Al. 5a Et Guiêlins et li preus Guinemans.

¹⁾ Aliscans 5783 lies within the portion of Aliscans translated by the Kitzinger Bruchstücke, but it does not appear in them.

It is not absolutely necessary to suppose that this line was in Wolfram's source, as these nephews of Guillaume are mentioned again, Guinemans only once Al. 1844, Guelins frequently, Al. 210a. 320. 404, 23. 1815. 1843. 1887. etc. (cf. Wh. 14, 20. 93, 10 and 15, 2. 42, 24. 45, 4. 47, 4. 93, 24).

4) It seems probable that the following lines from Aliscans suggested a part of Willehalm's lament over Vivianz, especially Willehalm 62, 23—63, 25.

Al. 767 „Niés Viviën“, che dist li quens Guillelmes,
 „Quant t'adoubai en mon palais a Termes,
 Por toie amor en donai a .c. elmes
 Et .c. espees et .c. targes noveles
 Et d'escarlates et mantiaus et gouneles;
 A leur voloir eurent armes et seles.
 E! Guiborc, dame, chi a froides noveles!

The last three of these lines are not in *M*.

cf. Wh. 63, 8 ich gap hundert knappen swert
 durh dich, des muoz ich volge hân :
 ich gap zwei hundert kastelân
 hundert den gesellen dîn
 mit harnasch, und diu künegin
 ieslichem drier slahte kleit
 ûz ir sunderkamern sneit,
 daz ich der kost nie bevant.
 von Thasmê und von Tryant
 und ouch von Ganfassâsche brâht
 manec tiwer pfelle, des erdâht
 was dîner massenye
 (Gybure mîn âmye
 het dich baz denne ir selber kint);
 brûnez scharlach von Gint,
 daz man heizet brütlachen,
 daz hiezs iu allen machen;
 daz dritte kleit scharlachen rô.

Al. 785—6 Por vostre amor i furent adoubé
 .c. cevalier tout d'armes conraé.

wight have suggested Wh. 63, 8—11 and Aliscans

755—7 „Hä! Guibor, ma dulce amie belle,
Quant vos savrés ceste lasse novele,
Molt serés quite de quisant estincele,

(I cite „*M*’s“ reading for 755) might have suggested

Wh. 62, 23—25 ,ouwé’, sprach er, ,Vivians,
waz du nu stæter sorgen gans
Gyburge der künegin!

But no substitute for Aliscans 771 appears to account in *M* for Willehalm 63, 12—25.

Twelve lines, (Aliscans 767—777) which include the last mentioned omission in *M* (771—773), form Laisse XXVI. These lines are wanting in mss. *ABb* and are embodied in the preceding laisse in *mT*. (Cf. the Halle Aliscans p. 50.)

It is almost certain that lines 767—777 or their equivalent stood in Wolfram’s source.

5) Another important omission in *M* is Aliscans 842.

Al. 841—3 Guillames pleure, ne se puet saouler.
Viviën fist en son giron cliner,
Molt doucement le prist a acoler.

The reading given seems to stand in *deC*¹⁾. It is the one most like Willehalm 61, 28—29.

den verhouwen helm er von im bant:
daz wunde houbet er zehant
legt al weinde in sine schôz
und sprach alsus mit jâmer grôz.

There is a suggestion of the same kind in

Al. 779 Par mi les flans tient l’enfant acolé,

but it is not so close a parallel and says nothing about Guillaume’s lap.

6) The mss. *ABbLCd(eT)* seem to contain Aliscans 959—973: these lines are wanting in *Mm*. This passage has no material

¹⁾ The variant readings for 842 are: *a* en son devant ester, *Ab* en son devant cliner, *m* en son estant lever, *L* en son seant ester.

essential to Willehalm, which is not to be found elsewhere in Aliscans, but it seems probable that lines 959 and 962 stood in Wolfram's source.

The passage in Aliscans describes Guillaume's onslaught against the fifteen kings.

Al. 959 Le cheval broche, la resne li sacha;
962 Droit vers les rois Baucent esperona.

In Willehalm in the same situation we find the lines

Wh. 72, 17 der marcrave des morgens fruo
reit den fünfzehn künegen zuo.

Aliscans gives the same information farther on

Al. 1005 Droit vers les rois fet le Baucent guenchir.

Aliscans 959 and 962 stand in Laisse XXXI (Aliscans 930—973), which contains between 930 to 950 four other probable correspondences to the part of Willehalm immediately preceding Willehalm 72, 17, i. e. from Willehalm 70, 26 to 71, 22. Aliscans 1005 is in Laisse XXXII (Al. 974—1007), which contains no other correspondences to Willehalm. It therefore is more probable that 959 and 962 stood in Wolfram's source, than that Aliscans 1005 stood in it.

7) *M* lacks 1570:

Dusqu'a Orenge ne vaut rengne sacier
corresponding to Wh. 88, 29—30:

snellichen truoc in Volatin
ze Oransch für die porte sin.

Here, however, *M* scores a point, because to lines Aliscans 1531—2, which describe the same ride

Al. 1531 Poignant s'en torne, n'i a plus demoré
Droit vers Orenge a son cemin torné,

M adds Sor volatille lo destrier abrivé
Des esperons la durement hurté.

No other ms. mentions the horse's name at this juncture.

8) *M* lacks both the variant of *am* Aliscans 1845 and the reading of *b* Aliscans 1846.

Al. 1845: Gaudins li bruns et li preus joserans

1846: Et Jocerans et li preus Vivians

Also 404, 24 *d* Gautier de Termes o le prou Joserant.

There are therefore four mss. which contain Joserant's name, corresponding to Willehalm 14, 25 and 46, 2, and *M* is not one of the four.

Wh. 14, 25 ich meine den clären Jozeranz

45, 2 und der gräve Jozeranz

9) *M* lacks Aliscans 2326 (it apparently stands in all the other mss.), which is the first line of the second version of the report made to Louis by messenger about Guillame's appearance at the palace door.

Al. 2326 „Ne sai, s'il est chevalier ou haus hom; etc.“

This line corresponds fairly well to the same message in Willehalm, which begins similarly

Wh. 128, 6—7 ,erdenken noch ervinden

mac unser keiner wer daz si, etc.‘

10) *M* lacks Aliscans 2640

Et mon chier pere, dont fui engenuis¹⁾.

This line occurs near the beginning of the speech in which Guillames calls down blessings on his family and friends, before he begins to curse his sister and Louis, and taken in conjunction with the preceding lines 2638

„Jhesu de gloire, li rois de paradis

Save celi, de qui je sui nasquis,

Et mon chier pere, dont fui engenuis

it offers a parallel to Willehalm's words in the same situation.

Wh. 145, 11 der segen über d' engel gêt,

an swes arme diu hant stêt,

der teil ouch sines segens swanc

über minen vater alders blanc

und über die werden muoter mîn.

¹⁾ Variants *C* Cou est mes peres li frans quens Aimeris; *b* Et mes chiers peres mes freres mes amis; *A* mes freres mes amis; *m* engeneris, *d* angendreis. (no variants for *eT* appear in this vicinity, it looks as if *BL* and perhaps *eT* had the reading in the text.

11) *M* lacks Aliscans 3136—7 (lacking in *ebBT* also).

Al. 3136—7 Desous Laon venir et atraver.

La veissiés maint pavillon fermer.

The line 3136 is used to describe the place where Louis assembled his forces, before sending them to Orange.

At the corresponding point in Willehalm we find

Wh. 186, 2 ze Munlêûn am zehenden tage

vor dem berge ûf dem plân

dâ wolt der kûnec sîne man

schouwen unde in danken, etc.

The correspondence of these lines is very close, however, with Aliscans 3302—4

Rois Loeïs ne se vaut oubliër:

De par sa terre a fait ses os mander,

Desous Laon venir et assambler.

The position of Laon on the hill may also have been suggested by Aliscans 3309

Aval Laon ot ces grailles soner.

12) *M* lacks Aliscans 4015—4019 (4016 is wanting in *LC*, 4017 in *a*, 4018—20 in *L*)

Et tant vert elme, tante targe bendee

Et tante lance, tante broigne safree

Et tante ensengne de paille geronee.

Cil bon destrier ont grant fierté menee,

Sonent cil cor par molt grant aïree.

These lines seem to have suggested Willehalm 225, 20—25.

die banier in der mâze kûr

als al die stûden sîdîn

wærn. dannoch die helme schîn

gâben unverdecket.

dâ wart hin nâch getrecket

mit maneger sunderstorje grôz.

13) *Me* lack 4273

A. i. piler s'est alés adosser *aL* (*d* se prit *a*, *m* s'est assis),

the reading of *TbC* „l'est alés adosser“ would correspond most closely to Willehalm 270, 4—5:

Rennewart die stangen swære
wider ein gewelbe leinde.

The following line in Aliscans 4273 a.

Sor son tinel se prist a acouter

has no correspondence in Willehalm, it is lacking in *aMe*.

14) *MC* lack 4656 and 4660

4656 Entor sa teste jeter et tornoier

4660 Ne li pesoit le rain d'un olivier

Wh. 311, 28—9 Die stangen swanc der sarjant
umbz houbet als ein sumerlatn

15) *M* lacks 4914

La quarte maine Aïmers li Caitis:

Wh. 328, 21—24 Diu vierde schar ze hêren nam

Gybert und Bertram.

wer der fûmfte schar hêre was?

Der schêtis und der von Tandarnas.

16) *Mad* lack 5089

Aiquins ses peres a l'uitisme adrechie

Wh. 350, 12—13 Poydwiz von Raabs, ze dime gebote
solt du hân die ahten schar.

Wh. 351, 11—12 ich schaffe dinem vanen bi
den sun des kûnec Anki

17) *M* lacks 5157—61.

Desous la boucle li pechoie a or fin

Tout li desront son hauberc doublentin

Par mi le cors li mist le fust fraisnin;

(a) Tant com tint l'anste, l'abati mort sovin.

L'espil trait fors od le penon sanguin,

Un chevalier a mort de Biauvoisin.

corresponding to

Wh. 411, 16—17 Der kunde ouch mit dem swerte wern
Des tôds Kîûn von Bêaveis

18) *M* lacks 5489

Non ot Morindes, plains fu de grant fierté

only thus in *abBT*.

Wh. 414, 1 Der hiez Môrende

19) *M* lacks 6004—7

Renier de Perche et Girart de Bordel.
Par Aleschans fait de sanc tel ruissel,
Se dex n'en pense, qui sauva Daniël,
Encui perdra Guillaumes son revel

Wh. 428, 22 ff. und Remôn, des lop was hel,
ûz Dâniu den barûn.

sus beschutter sinen sun.
dâ lag ouch tôt von siner hant
der werde ûz Purdel Girant.

429, 1 Noch grœzer schade von im geschach.
den kûnec von Nubiant man sach
eine strâze houwen durch daz wal.
der getouften viel sô vil ze tal
daz witer rûm umb in wart.

20) *M* lacks 11—13 p. 345—6 (10 lacking also in *M*, but
does not appear in Willehalm)

Bien fu armés desor Passelevriere,
(Plus tost l'em porte tres par mi la jonchiere,
Faucons ne chace l'aloe menuiere).

Wh. 368, 21—27 von im seit d'aventüre mier,
sîn ors hiez Passilivrier.
daz was snel und trachenvar,
als im mit fiwers vanken gar
gefurriert wæren sîniu mâl:
ez gienc mit sprungen sunder twâl
under im vor sîner schar.

21) *M* lacks CXXIb 184, var. *m*, page 355.

En sa compaigne Bruians et Ysores
Wh. 438, 28. 29 Prûanz und Utreiz,
Iseret und Malatons.

22) *M* lacks 8034

(8033e Ains tel ceval ne vit hom qui soit nes.)
Li Margaris, issi fu apelés.

Wh. 420, 23 ein ors, hiez Lignmaredi.

A few examples also follow of readings in *M*, which were surely
not those of Wolfram's text.

1. 388 Devant lui garde, vit ester un garçon
2. 824 Ki fu sainés de ce beneit gaimain
3. 1291 E de la carn qi qatant en trencha
4. 2194—5, *M* in common with *AmLDb* makes recognition depend on sight rather than hearing.
5. 2602 *Bb* give „Saint Marc (*s mac, ea Mars*) de Venis“ as Aimers sojourning place, the others, including *M*, simply „en Espagne entre les Sarrasins“.
6. 3056 *M* „foy“ for „fief“.
7. 4023—24 is made by *M* into one line:
cuida ce fust de l'Archant retornee
8. 4039 Estens (— Estevenes)
9. 4214 de Dinas — (d'Andernas)
10. 4393 Aurias (— Quarraus, Quarriaus)
11. 4394 Maunes (— Maures)
12. 4845 .cc: (— .vi.)
13. 5997 lutive (*bTM*) (— luiton, *d noitu*).

The Italian scribe accounts for a number of these peculiarities, but Aliscans 6784, c is evidence against *M* and *e* and for *L(V)*

- | |
|---|
| 14. <i>LV</i> Puis a ocis Cador et Tempeste |
| <i>M</i> Cadoc et Tenebre |
| <i>e</i> Sadoc et T. |

Wh. 442, 27 ff. er sluoc — — — —.
Câdor muose der vierde sin:
und dem jungen künece Tampastê
tet er ouch mit dem tôde wê.

It may be said for *Me* that only these four mss., i. e. *eMLV*, contain the lines at all.

A few lines farther on, in the variants following 6800, *d* mentions Tenebrez as among those with Sinagon. (*M* has Tenpeste. *M* seems to have inverted the names in 6784 and 6800, 2.) Wolfram brings in Tenebreiz at the corresponding place, 443, 19.

From the foregoing examples it is quite clear that *M* has no claim to being at every point nearer Wolfram than the other mss.

We now turn to the examples which speak in favor of a close relation between *M* and Wolfram's source.

1) In Aliscans 32—33 probably lies hidden the secret of Mile's existence. (Wh. 14, 21—22 und des marcrâven swester-kint Myle.)

The story of the death of Mile is told in

Wh. 21, 16—30 Terramêr kom gevarn
ûf eim orse, hiez Brahâne:
dô kêrt er gein dem plâne,
er wolde den buhurt wenden.
er vorhte, ez sold in schenden,
ob er von strite kêrte.
sîn manheit in lêrte:
einer schedelichen tjost er pflac,
dâ von der edele Myle lac
tôt vor Terramêre,
den die Franzoyser sêre
unz an ir ende klagten,
die dâ sorgen vil bejagten.
Terramêr reit wider in
zuo dem grôzen ringe sîn.

Mile is spoken of repeatedly in Willehalm cf. 93, 10. 120, 19. 151, 13. 171, 13 etc. His name, when mentioned, is always in close connection with that of Vivianz, and his relationship to Willehalm is often spoken of: Willehalm speaks

151, 11 mir wart erslagen ûf Alischanz
der geflôrierte Vivianz
und Mile, mîner swester kint.

Bertram von Brubant says:

171, 10 unz mich mîn bruoder bringet
an die stat da ich râche tuon
umb Milen, mîner swester suon,
und umb den clâren Vivianz.

Saltzman found the suspicious lines in Aliscans, and the new readings give a possible explanation of how Mile, son of Willehalm's sister, was called into life.

Ms. *M* gives 28—34 follows.

A tant e vos Desramé leur signour
 Sor la brahagne, ki cort a grant vigor.
 Cil sont a lui d'Inde Superior,
 a Cil de palerne e cil de straenor,
 Cest une gent ki vers dieu n'a amor,
 Un espiel porta par molt ruiste fieror.
 Le jor a mort maint fil de vavasor
 Et a Guil. le fil de sar seror.

If the reader, looking ahead, made the blunder of saying „mil fil de vavasor et a Guillaume“ etc., the entrance of Myle into Willehalm is explained. It need not even have been a mistake, „mil“ may have stood for „maint“ in the text, but the theory of a misreading appeals to me, as I happened on this mistake, as I was saying the lines over.

Other mss. have some of the features, but no other ms. gives both the singular of the verbs „porta“, „a“, and also „fil de“.

2) The next points of resemblance in *M* come in a passage, where the variants are so numerous that they are bewildering. The points of contact are the names of the princes killed by Vivian. These names are contained in the lines Aliscans 346—358. All lines not containing such names are omitted.

Al. 346 Fiert un neveu Aerofle le blon

— — — — —
 350 Après rochist son frere Clarion
 Et Agolafre et le fier Glorion
 Et Fauseberc, Murgant et Robion.

— — — — —
 354 Es Haucebier d'autre Cafarnaon ;

— — — — —
 355a Niés fu Tiebaut et oncle Sinagon,

— — — — —
 358 Plus ot de force ke .xiiii. Esclavon¹⁾.

The readings are so complicated that it seems best to follow some of the more important mss. right through the corresponding lines.

¹⁾ 351 is wanting in *AbT*—*d* has: et .i. autre glouton 352 *AbT* Et Faussabre, Morant et Rubion. — 355a wanting in *ad*.

M 346 Fiert un neveu Aeroffe li baron
— — — — —

350 Et puis rochist son frere Clarion
E Gala frere son fiere Grorion
Et Faussabre, Morant et Rubion

m 346 Fiert un neveu Aeroffe le blon
— — — — —

350 Et puis rochist le frere Clarion
Et Agolafre le frere Glorion
Et Falsagre, Morgant et Rubion

a 346 Fiert un neveu Aeroffe le blon
— — — — —

350 Et puis ochist son frere Glorion
Et Galafer Murgant et Rubion
Et Fauseberc et son fil Garsion

C Fiert un neveu Aeroffe d Erlion
— — — — —

Apres rochist son oncle Clarion
Et Agoulant et le fier Glorion
Et Faussabre, Margot, et Rubion

Compare with these passages the two following from Willehalm.

Wh. 26, 25 von Sêres Eskelabôn
— — — — —

30 sîn brüoder Galafrê
— — — — —

27, 6 wir sulen ouch Glôriône
und dem stolzen Faussabrê
und dem kûnege Tampastê
und dem herzogen Rubiant¹⁾
— — — — —

12 der rîche Rûbiûn dâ streit,
und der kûnec Sinagûn
Halzbiers swester sun.

Wh. 46, 17—21 und daz er sluoc Libilûn,
Arofels swester sun,
Eskelabôn und Galafrê,
Rûbiûn und Tampastê,
Glôriôn und Morhant²⁾.

¹⁾ Thus Lachmann with ms. *K*, Morant (Leitzmann with the others.)

²⁾ Môrant (Leitzmann).

In the list of princes slain by Vivian *M* alone in its garbled line 351 shows the name Galafre (*a* has Galafer)

E Gala frere son fiere Grorion

this is perhaps what the Italian copyist made out of

E Galafre et le fier Glorion

We find Aerofle's nephew in all mss. Aliscans 346, but the word corresponding to Libilûn varies greatly. *bdB TAC* have impossible readings; *am* have le blon, *M* li baron (*L* le felon?). The word Esclavon (model for Eskelabôn) is in all mss. Haucibier and Sinagon are in all. Tampastê is not at this point in any ms. Rubiant (Wh. 27, 9 Lachmann after *K*) is not anywhere in Aliscans, but the reading Môrant (Leitzmann after *l m n o p t*) is in several Aliscans mss. The four remaining names Galafrê, Glôriôn, Faussabrê, Rûbiûn, are not found exactly corresponding in any one ms. *MAbT* have reproduced three of them almost exactly in one line. *M* has the other two distorted in the preceding line. The Halle text has restored similar names in the order that *M* has them, but only one of the five in the Halle text is nearer Willehalm than *M*, and one is the same in both, the other three speak for *M*.

3) In the description of the giant Haucebier (Aliscans 354—369) *M* reads (Aliscans 364)

Demi pié ot entre les cis de front,

this line corresponds most closely to Wolfram's description

Wh. 46,3 und spanne breit zwischen brân.

LdC read Aliscans 364

Demi pié ot entre luel et le front,

all the other mss. have

Demi pié ot entre les iex dou front.

4) *M* is one of five mss. (*MmTAB*) which read Urgallie (Aliscans 466) as the name of the kingdom of a pagan prince slain by Guillaume, who may or may not have been the same

person as King Baufumés, against whom Guillaume has just been advancing. Aliscans 447—464.

In Willehalm 55, 7 Ingulie is the name of Poufemeiz' (-Baufumés) kingdom.

Compare mss. *d* Orgennie, *L* Orcanie, the rest (the text of the Halle edition) Urganie

Aliscans 465 ff. according to *M*

- Li quens Guillames son espil i enplie
 En un paien, qui tenoit Urgallie
 1. Sie le consiut par molt grant seignorie
 2. Ne li vaut broigne la monte dune aillie
 3. Escus niaume ne li fist garantie,
 Escus n'auberc ne li vaut une alie
 D'ame et de cors fist ilueches partie.
 a Si soef muert, qu'il ne bret ne ne crie.

Cf. Wh. 54, 24 Schoyûs sîn swert, der heiden hagel,
 in den ungelouben weiz (beiz: Leitzmann)
 unz ûf den kûnec Poufameiz,
 dem nam sîn zimierde den lîp.
 swaz kost ûf man geleit ie wîp,
 diu mohte ûf Poufameize sîn, etc.

— — — — —
 55, 7 den kûnec von Ingulie
 ein sîn âmie.
 gefrumet het ûf Alischans etc.
 — — — — —

25 der marcgrâve im nam daz leben.

5) Aliscans 470—471, a with the variants gives a great tangle of names, among them a number used by Wolfram. These are so distributed among the different mss. that it is not possible to give the preference to any one ms. For instance Aliscans 471 a in *M* reads —

E Arfulant e Nubant de Rosie

Arfulant is probably the Arfklant of Willehalm 56, 3, but the

rest of the line finds no correspondence in the German. This is the only name at all similar to Arfiklant in Aliscans ¹).

6) Weeks in the corrected variants of Aliscans (Rom. 315) gives an important reading for *M*. It stands after 819 k, two lines are inserted —

Jel demandai por deu a un abé
Il m'en dona por deu de maïesté.

Wh. 68, 9 daz selbe ein appt mir gewan.

We find no other correspondence in Aliscans for this line.

In both Willehalm and Aliscans the situation is the same, Guillaume-Willehalm is about to administer the holy communion to the dying Vivian and explains to him how he happens to have the consecrated bread in his wallet ²).

7) The list of the fifteen kings is very different in the various mss. *M* alone has for line 1017

¹) The following passage, though not very striking, is perhaps worth a little attention. The situation is the same in both poems.

Al. 538—9 N'i a celui, qui n'ait lance poignal

A riche enseigne de poile et de cendal

these two lines are combined as follows in *M*.

M Ni ait celui qui nait molt bon cendal.

If the line stood thus in Wolfram's source, it would correspond better to Willehalm 33, 16—23 —

mangen pfelle lieht gemâl
ir ors truogen ze kleiden.
liuten und an orsen beiden
kôs man phelle tiure etc.

²) Aliscans 843b stands in *ACLmdM*. The situation is the same. Willehalm = Guillaume is sustaining his dying nephew.

Molt belement li prist a doctriener

M regreter

Wh 61, 30 und sprach alsus mit jâmer grôz.

After Aliscans 931 *M* adds:

Jusque au demain qe li jors esclara

The situation is the same in Willehalm 71, 3:

des morgens, sô der tac erschein

This line, however, finds other suggestion in Al. 929 de ci a l'esclairer.

Avoc els fu Corsauç e—— hure

Aliscans 1017 in the other mss. contains nothing adopted by Wolfram, and nowhere in any of the variants in the list do we find any thing else that corresponds with Willehalm 74, 13

Cursaus von Barberie.

8) Another reading in the list of fifteen kings is in favor of *MLC* Al. 1046 „li quins Embrons“, corresponding to Willehalm 74, 24 rois Embrons.

9) Arofel's companion king (Aliscans 1087) is called by *ABb* Danemont, *d* Dinebor, *ML* Danabrus (later, however, 1138 *Ab* Danebrons, 1429, *LC* Danebrun (*m* Daneburc), the rest: Danebur. Cf. Willehalm 76, 12 der werde kunec Tenebruns.

10) The name of Baudus' companion Aliscans 1410 is Desreés in all the mss. except *M*. Desireç (passim). Willehalm 36, 12 Tesereiz.

11) *M* differentiates between two Baudus, one of whom is called Baudin (Kitzinger Bruchstücke also give this form). Lorenz says (Z. f. r. Ph. 31, 402): „Die Hs. *M* allein hat für den Sohn des Aquin und für den Verwandten Ren's zwei verschiedene Namen, Baudus und Baudin. Die klare und stets richtige Trennung der zwei Namen in *M* (nur 5110 „Baudor“ statt „Baudin“ verschrieben) ist sicherlich auf Konto des Dichters zu setzen. (Baudin findet sich außer in *M* noch: in *b* (*T*?) v. 5108, in *bBTm* 5110 *d*, in *m* and *L* ist der Name fast immer als „B“ abgekürzt)“. The name Baudin occurs in *M* Aliscans 5108, 5110 *d*, in Laisse 121 *b*, 6822 ff. to 8140, Laisse 189 a 3, 9.

Elsewhere „Baudus“ stands. Lorenz is of the opinion that the „Baudus d'Aumarie“, Aliscans 5087, is a third person, and that the reference to his father Aquin is a later interpolation (5089). *LdM* do not mention this relationship.

This differentiation in *M* would account for the distinction Wolfram makes between Poydjus and Poydwiz. Baudin = Poydjus. We should be led to suppose a mistake on the part of Wolfram's

reader here, who probably took the „n“ of Baudin for a „u“.

12) Aliscans 1498 *M* adds three lines: —

1. Ay baucent cum vos avoy amé
2. Jamais meylor nen aurai recouré
3. Molt sui por vos dolent e bosiné

The preceding line of Aliscans —

Le sor Bauchant a forment regreté

may have been sufficient to suggest Willehalm 88, 22—3

— — — Puzzât lac tôt,
sîn ors — daz begund er klagen.

The lines in *M* might well have been in Wolfram's model also.

13) *M*'s addition after 1531 has already been discussed, as it is closely related to a passage missing from *M* (cf. above pp. 190—1).

14) Only *Me* have the name Gorchier with the first „r“ Aliscans 5192; only *M* has Gorher Aliscans 5238 the others Gohier, cf. Willehalm 411, 26. 412, 23 and 359, 4 Grôhier.

15) The list of Ren's brothers found in Willehalm 32, 12—19 and 288, 10—17 corresponds very well to the list given Aliscans 4392—95. The first name on the list in Aliscans is Jambus: *a* Jembus, *e* Sanbus, *m* Ganbrus, *M* Saburs.

Willehalm 32, 12, Fâbors.

There seem to be no initial capitals for names in *M*, and small „f“ and „s“ may easily have been mistaken for one another by Wolfram's reader, if the text in his hands had the same characteristic.

16) Another name on this list is in Aliscans 3495 Miradaus: *m* Meradus, *a* Miraidiaus, *e* Mirabias, *M* Mirabeus. Willehalm 32, 18, Merabjax.

17) Aliscans 5009: L'escu li tent li rois de Gorcataigne: *a* Gorcacaigne, *d* Cocataigne, *L* Goriaigne, *C* Grogategne, *BTb* Gorgataigne, *M* Gorgotagne. In Willehalm 34, 16, Gorgozâne. In both cases it is a land tributary to Desramés = Terramêr. The

only other mention of a similar name is Aliscans 1398, where the land is dependent on Desreés = Tesereiz, and where we find no correspondence in Willehalm: Ciaus de Palerne et ciaus de Gorcacaigne, (var. *Ab* Gorgataigne, *M* Puliane, *L* Maliquaine, *C* Gocacaigne).

18) Aliscans 1399, Desreés d'Argolaigne, var. *bA* d'Aquitaigne, *m* d'Orcalaigne, *L* d'Aquilaigne, *C* de Grimohegne, *M* de Golaine. Willehalm 84, 9 die von Kollône.

19) Aliscans 6782—84.

Devant lui garde. s'a veü Triboë

(is lacking in *eML*) Un fier paien de grant nobilité:

Tout le profent desqu' el neu del baudré.

6782 Triboë = *B* Terboe, *e* Giboe, *M* Gibbe; Triboue, *Le* adds:

Del branc dacier li a grant cop doné.

Cf. Willehalm 442, 24—25

Rennwart den künec Gibûê

unz ûf den swertvezzel schriet.

20) Aliscans 678, d—e.

Et Samuël et le viel Jesuë

et Marados, Bustor et Tenebré.

Wolfram has none of these names at just this point. Only *e* apparently has the above reading. *M* has:

E malachin a por mi tronchoné

Willehalm 442, 26—7. Durch all der sarringe niet, er sluoc den künec Malakin.

(*LV* have: .vi. de ses freres a il mors et tuez).

21) Aliscans 6800 there is much confusion in the names of those who escaped with Sinagon. Among those mentioned in the variants of *eM* is „li fil Borrel Bargis“. *d* has Borgis. This is the only place in Aliscans where this name occurs. Willehalm has the name in the same connection 443, 17—18.

von Bailie Sinagûn

und Bargis, Purrelles sun

(Wolfram has brought him in also in the fight with Rennewart 427, 8—10:

Purrels sun Alexander
und ein sîn sun Bargis.

(It seems possible that Alexander may have stood in Wolfram's source. The Kitzinger Bruchstücke mention (II. 170—1) Hurepe van Alexandre).

23. 7298—7298e stand only *CdeM*

- François descendant, cascuns et desarmés
a Et li mengiers fu molt bien aprestés.
b Bien sont servi de vin et de claré
c Et de vitaille tot a lor volenté,
d Que il troverent en grant planté es nes
e François se couchent, quant ont mengié assés.

The battle is over, Rainouart has conquered his cousin Baudus and has led him off to join the christian army. The French have emptied the heathen ships of all the treasures heaped up in them. Every man of them is made rich. They set up their tents on Aliscans. It had grown dark, the sun was set. And then follow the just quoted lines. They seem to have suggested the two following passages (Willehalm 447, 13—19 and 448, 3—9)

- Wh. 447, 12 wer in die spise hête brâht
an manegem ringe schöne?
die von Samargône:
ûz Indyâ, von Triant
man wunder dâ von spisc vant,
vil spise ûz Alamansurâ:
vil spise ûz Kânach vant man dâ,
vil spise brâht ûz Suntîn etc.
448, 3—10 ine mac niht geben sundernamn
ir spise, dem wilden und dem zamn,
und ir trinken maneger slahte
von kostenlicher ahte,
môraz, win, sinôpel.
Kipper und Vinepôpel
hânt sô guoter trinken niht gewalt,
als si dâ funden manecvalt.

In Willehalm also the French have enriched themselves with the spoils of the heathen after the battle. The sun had set and

the night was approaching, the lines 447, 12 etc. follow.

There are four places in *M*, where a line is omitted, which may well also have been lacking in Wolfram's source.

First: Aliscans 1643, c:

Et une plaie, qui est par de delez

Without this line the passage reads —

Anchois verré la boce sor le nes
a Que devant Rome li fist rois Ysorez —
b C'est une enseigne, que je connois assez
d Qu'en la bataille li fist Tiebautz l'Esclers.

May it not have been, because the passage was incomprehensible as it stood, that Wolfram changed the situation so greatly? (Wh. 91, 27—92, 6.) Here the same wound is ascribed to two different causes.

Second: Aliscans 4339.

En .ii. moities rous et esquartelés.

Willehalm 276, 19—29 says nothing of the pillar breaking in two. This is no proof that the line was not in his source, but his source can easily spare it.

Third: Aliscans 4369:

Pance levée se gist tos enversés

For this line we can only say that Wolfram's taste would have omitted such a vulgar expression in any case. His taste may also have found the breaking of the pillar too violent.

Fourth: Aliscans 4393 a. (not in *aMe*)

Et Moriäus et Brubans et Malgrés

This line is taken from the list of Rennewart's brothers. There is no correspondence to any of these names in Wolfram's list. The other ten in the list find correspondences in Wolfram's ten.

This closes the plea for *M*.

Ms. *e* is most peculiar and hard to classify. Lorenz l. c. (p. 421) says: „Diese Hs. hat sehr häufig mit ihrer Vorlage ge-

wechselt. Becker sagt von ihr (Der südfranzösische Sagenkreis und seine Probleme, Halle 1898, p. 6—7): Manche Anzeichen weisen nun darauf, daß die Hs. Bibliothèque Nationale Nummer 1448 aus einer stark beschädigten Vorlage abgeschrieben wurde, der hier und dort ein oder mehrere Blätter fehlten. Man könnte auch vermuten, daß die Hs. oder ihre unmittelbare Vorlage stückweise nach verschiedenen Vorlagen kopiert wurde. Wir finden folgende Gruppen.

	1—3012	<i>ed</i>
	3013—3860	<i>eAbBT</i>
	3861—4965	<i>eM</i>
	4966—5488	<i>eC</i>
	5489—6748	<i>ed</i>
	6749—6791	} <i>ed</i> und <i>eM</i>
Laisse 121 ^b	124—182	
Laisse 121 ^b	183—8127	<i>eM</i>
	8128—Schluß	<i>ed.</i> “

We rarely find any absolutely independent readings which bear on Willehalm. *e* contains all the episodes, i. e. the description of Rainouart's fights with monsters in the longest form (Aliscans 6048—6778) and the story of Rainouart in the smithy and in the monastery. *e* has independent versions for the two latter (cf. Halle edition pp. 194—199 and 214—216).

L has been characterized by Wienbecke as follows, Halle edition. Introd. p. XIV: „Es sei freilich nicht verschwiegen, daß *L* (trotzdem) einen ganz andern Charakter als *dC* trägt. *L* ist gründliche Umarbeitung ihrer Vorlage, eine Umarbeitung, die ich jedoch für das Werk eines einzigen Abschreibers halte, eines poetisch veranlagten, gebildeten Mannes, der seine Vorlage mit kritischem Auge betrachtete und alles Holprige, Geschmacklose und Unverständliche darin in das Gegenteil zu wandeln suchte.“ . . . Hartnacke says: l. c. p. XXII: „*L* ist eine sehr späte und modernisierte Hs., die für den kritischen Text nicht viel Wert hat. Sie ist das Werk eines Mannes, der mit dem Text ganz

willkürlich verfährt, ihn ändert, glättet und stellenweise stark zerdehnt. Im ganzen zeigt er recht viel Geschick, weniger hinsichtlich der Form, da anstatt der Reime oft bloße Assonanzen herauskommen, die Rolin für Reste einer alten assonierenden Form ausgegeben hat“.

We see that *L* is only to be used with caution. It contains none of the additional episodes, that is neither the stories of Rainourt in the monastery and in the smithy, nor of his fights with monsters.

C: this ms. is in Berne and contains all the episodes just described. It has five *laisses* at the end independent of the other mss. It has a number of readings which lead to the conclusion that it had two sources, one similar to the source of *M*, and the other the long version. *C* is more critical than *d* or *m* in its adoption or rejection of readings.

It is not a very important ms. for determining Wolfram's source, because it has so few independent readings.

d: this ms. is in Paris. It shows a close relation to *L*. It contains neither smithy nor monastery episodes, but it does contain 52 of the 54 *m* *laisses* concerning the monsters. Hartnacke (Halle edition of *Aliscans* p. XXI) describes *d* thus: „Von allen übrigen Hss. geht bei weitem am häufigsten mit *a* zusammen die Hs. *d*. *d* zeigt viele Ungenauigkeiten, Fehler und Verstörungen. Sie ist in einem merkwürdigen östlichen Dialekt geschrieben. Für die Prep. „a“ schreibt sie z. B. „et“, für die Lautgruppe „es“ setzt sie gern „a“, besonders als Präfix (so „acrier“ für „escrier“). Um so wertvoller ist *d* in der Hinsicht, daß sie weniger durch bewußte Aenderungen das Hss.-Verhältnis verwischt“.

1) We have already spoken of one of *d*'s strong claims, namely *Aliscans* 5447 *fabur* = *Samul a*, *Fåbûr* (*Willehalm* 413, 27).

2) *d* is the only ms. that offers *Cherubin* as the name of an angel to whom Vivien appeals *Aliscans* 339, b.

According to *d* *Al.* 336

Il (Vivien) reclama le baron saint Martin
Et saint Andrieu, saint Pol et saint Fermin
Et saint Herbert, ki siet deseur le Rin,

a Et le cors saint beneoit Florentin

b Et les sains angles qu'en claime Cherubin

cf. Wh. 49, 10 vor dem tievel nam der sële war
der erzengel Kerubin.

3) *d* has the name „Joserant“ p. 26, 24 var. among those of Guillaume's nephews. cf. Willehalm 14, 25, 45, 2 and 151, 23.

4) *d* has „Ample“ p. 495, 12 as one of Desrames' lands. This form comes nearer „Happe“ Wh. 34, 15 than anything except Aliscans 6341 Nel porteroies por tot l'or de Halape. (*bB* Mielz te vendroit tu fusses en Halape.) It seems improbable that Aliscans 6341 was in Wolfram's source, as it recounts the struggle with Walegrape, to which we find no allusion in Willehalm.

5) „Tenebreiz“ is represented Willehalm 443, 19 as escaping to the ship with Sinagûn. His name is given by *d* in connection with the same circumstances Aliscans 6800, 4, but *d* adds „Triboez“ to the group, who does not appear in Willehalm.

Against *d*, a few examples.

1) *d* contains the account of Rainouart's fights with monsters at great length.

2) *d* does not contain

Al. 352 Et Fauseberc, Murgant et Rubion.

cf. Wh. 27, 7 und dem stolzen Faussabrê

27, 9 und dem herzogen Môrant¹⁾

12 der riche Rûbîûn dâ streit

3) lacks

Al. 356—7 Ciex Haucebiers fu de si haut renon,

Qu'en paienime par tout ent parloit on.

cf. Wh. 27, 14—15 Halzebieres swestersun,

des diu heidenschaft hete êre.

4) *d* lacks Aliscans 1171, 1—41. We know that some of these lines must have been in Wolfram's source, namely those that contain the description of Arofel's sword.

¹⁾ with mss. *Imnoptæ*; Rubiant, Lachmann after ms. *K*.

Al. 1171, 26 Ceinte ot l'espee au pont d'or neelé;
 N'a si grant home en France le regné,
 S'il l'avoit ceinte au flanc par le baudré,
 Que sor la terre ne trainast plein pié;
 Une toise ot, ce dist on par verté.
 Rois Plantamors la dona Salatré,
 Et Salatrez, li rois d'antiquité,
 Cil la dona l'amiré Aceré
 Par non d'acorde de son frere Morré
 Cui il avoit le cief del bu sevré.
 Tant a l'espee de roi en roi alé,
 Que or l'a cil, qui maint home a maté
 Et en bataille maint estor afiné,
 C'est Aaroffes, li freres Desramé,
 Li plus fiers Turs, dont onques fust parlé.
 Li Sarrazins fu molt de mal pensé.

cf. Wh. 77, 24—78, 7 ein swert der küene Pantanor
 gab dem küene Salatré:
 der gabz dem küene Antikotê:
 der gabz Esserê dem emerâl:
 der gabz dô als lieht gemâl
 Aroffel dem küenen:
 der kunde ouch wênic süenen.
 sus kom daz swert von man ze man,
 unz ez der Persân gewan,
 Aroffel, derz mit ellen trude
 und ez vil genendeclichen sluoc,
 wand er mit strite kunde
 und niemen für sich gunde
 deheinen pris ze bejagenne.

We turn now to the readings in *d*, which were surely not those of Wolfram's source. Five examples follow:

1) *d* reads Aliscans 364. Demi pié ot entre luel et le front.
 (cf. above.)

2) *d* reads Aliscans 465—466

Li quens Guillames son espil i enplie
 En un paien, qui tenoit Orgennie,
 (cf. above p. 204)

3) *d* reads Aliscans 471

Puis a ochis Capin de vauserie

The variants are numerous.

a Caem de Valermie,
AbT Harpin de Valturquie
m Harpin d'Orcanie
M el pin de val Emie
L Pinel de Valturnie
C Buriel de Balturnie

These readings contain the nearest approach to the name of one of the heathen leaders who accompanies Tibalt und Ehmereiz.

Wh. 28, 23 von Arâby und von Todjerne
 die künige dô gâhten gerne,
 Tybalt und Ehmereiz sîn sun;
 und der kûnec Turpîûn:
 des laut hiez Falturmîê

Several readings come much nearer than that of *d*.

4) *d* reads Aliscans 490

Avec els fu Corsus et Huerez
M A lui fu Corsueç e Buureç,
b Corsuble et Ahenre
AB Aheure
 Halle Text Corsus et Buherez

cf. Wh. 33, 14 Pohereiz und Corsâz

5) *d* reads Aliscans 1046

Li quins Abrant, li sistes Josués
 Halle text Ebrons, li sistes Josués
MCL Embrons, li sistes Josués
 Wh. 74, 24 rois Embrons von Alimec,
 rois Joswê von Alahôz

These are, in both poems two of the fifteen kings who assailed Guillaume = Willehalm, as he tried to beat a retreat to Orange.

This is enough to show that *d* is frequently much farther away than the other mss. from Willehalm.

m: this ms. is at Boulogne (Library of Sancti Bertini, ms. no. 192). It bears the date, „finished April 1295“. *m* is peculiar

in having many gaps. It is difficult to understand exactly where they lie, as the statements in the Halle edition of Aliscans contradict one another. — For instance p. 356 under the variants stands „*m* fügt die ff. vv. an und geht nach denselben sogleich zu v. 8157 der CXC Laisse über; *m* s.“ then follow the 30 lines with which Rolin ends his edition, but three pages farther on begin (Aliscans 6023) the monster conflicts, and there we find *m* again, and it contains 54 of the 62 laisses concerning Rainouart and the monsters. *m* apparently omits 6779—8157. It is very difficult to tell whether some of the earlier laisses of Aliscans are in *m* or not; at the beginning of laisse CXXI b: p. 346 the letters (*MLVde*) are given to indicate that these mss. contain the laisse, but at line 167 of this laisse, p. 354, the variants contain the following note „Mit 167 geht *e* ganz zur *MLV* Redaktion über; *m* schließt sich dabei an“. Is one to gather from this that *m* does not contain the first 166 lines of this laisse, but does have the rest? In that case the letters at the beginning are misleading. Lorenz tells us (l. c. p. 425) that the copy of *m* used for the variants in the Halle edition of Aliscans is very incomplete, so that it is often uncertain whether *m* contains important lines of the poem. As he says, it is clear that *m* and *M* are nearly related, and also that the *m* editor had the longer version of Aliscans to work from (that is the version containing Rainouart's fights with monsters): *m* contains the smithy and monastery episodes as well as the fights with monsters. Hartnacke p. XXIII: „(daß) die Lesart von *m* wegen der äußerst lückenhaften Abschrift, die nur einen geringen Bruchteil der Verse enthält, nur zu oft nicht festzustellen (war)“.

m omits Laisses CXXI a, CXLVI, CLIX, CLXXI, CLXXVI, CLXXXIV c and others also, but those mentioned contain material to which Willehalm apparently alludes.

A few examples for and against *m*:

1) Aliscans 1423 le roi Alipantin

seems to be the source of Wolfram's king Aropatin mentioned Willehalm 348, 2 and 384, 1.

The variants for Alipantin are *M* Antipantin, *m* Alapatin, *C* Alampatin, *T* Alipatrin, *d* Lanpatrin. *m*'s reading is the nearest to the form in Willehalm.

2) Aliscans 1845 (omitted from the text by the Halle editors and wanting *AMLdCb*)

m Gaudins li bruns li bons bers Joserans

a Gaudins li bruns et li preus joserans

1846b Et Jocerans et li preuz Vivians

m's testimony may be considered a little more valuable than that of *a* and *b* for the existence of a relative of Guillaume's named Joserans, because *m* has many more similarities to Willehalm than the other two mss.

3) Aliscans 2873—2878 corresponds fairly closely to Willehalm 141, 11—23. In both cases the courtiers wish William were „in Jericho“.

Al. 2874 „Ke il fust ore outre la Mer Betee

Ou en Egipte, en terre desertee

Ou el palage dedens la mer salee,

Une grant pirre entor son col noee!

Lors seroit France del maufé delivree“.

Wh. 141, 19 sô wunschte in einer âne wer

ûf den wert inz lebermer,

der Palaker ist genannt:

sô ne wurder nimmer mêr bekant

decheinem Franzeise'

The variants of Aliscans 2876 are: *M* O el palatre entre la; *a* palagre en haute mer s.; *m* en palagre en mila mer Betee; *B* pelage.

4) The list of the fifteen kings, so often referred to, (Aliscans 1014—1018 and 1044—1047 corresponding to Willehalm 72, 17—19 and 74, 3—25) contains in Willehalm 84, 15 rois Bûr von Siglimessâ.

m contains the only possible correspondence for this name in the French, in the reading which this ms. gives for Aliscans 1018.

The Halle text has

Al. 1018 L'uitisme fu li fors rois Coldoé.

The variants are: *C* Codroe, *Ab* Cadroe, *L* Qualorez; *M* Li oun fu li f. r. Cadoie, *m* Li rois Butors et li rois Gasteble, *d* Et li h. fu li r. Cadoez.

5) *m* alone p. 355, 1184 contains

„En sa compaigne Bruians et Ysorez

corresponding to Willehalm 438, 28 Prûanz and 438, 29 Iseret. It seems likely that the following lines have become disarranged. We can only find the correspondences for the list given here in Willehalm by retaining line 188 (p. 355) of the Halle text and using also the variant of *m*. I give the lines according to *m* and insert 188 from the Halle text, Aliscans 183—189 p. 355.

183. As esperons s'en fuï Desramés,

184 (*Me* fehlt.) *m* En sa compaigne Bruians et Ysorés,
(185—6 *m* fehlt).

187 Et Sinagon et li rois Arcestés

188 Et Malatars et Malars et Otrés

188 *m* Et Meradus et li rois Cosdroés

189 Et bien .c.m. que Persant que Esclés.

Wh. 438, 22—30 sîner manheit was umbetrogn
al der heiden admirât,
der werliche genkert¹⁾ hât
vor sîner schiffunge an dem mer.
ich sag iu wer dâ hielt ze wer:
Synagûn und Ehmereiz,
Prûanz und Utreiz,
Iseret und Malatons,
Marjadox und Malacrons.

We find Arcestés and Cosdroés missing in Willehalm. My theory is that Wolfram rejected Cosdroes, because he considered

¹⁾ gekêret (Leitzmann).

that the latter had been slain among the fifteen kings repulsed by Willehalm after the first battle (Wh. 74, 17—18) „Arcestes“ is only found in *m* and seems to have come into that ms. from the omitted line 186:

Devant la mer est li rois arestés

It is possible that Esmerés was once in this group, but considering Wolfram's habits of combination, it is very likely that he brought in that name from the group surrounding Sinagon, where this same episode is told once more, 6799 ff. In the variants *Ce* we find his name, 6800 *C* s. 3

Et d'Odiérne li fors rois Esmerés

6800 *e* s. 3 Ensemble o lui d'Odiérne Esmeré.

The comparison of the manuscripts leads to the conclusion that Wolfram's manuscript was more like *M* than like any one other manuscript, but that his manuscript contained many lines missing in *M* and still preserved in other versions, also, that in a number of cases, other manuscripts have preserved the reading in Wolfram's version, where *M* has a different reading.

VI.

It remains to construct a theory concerning the source of Willehalm, which shall be in accord with the results of the foregoing discussion. It is not possible to construct a theory to which no objection can be made. The best that we can do, is to suggest the alternatives that offer themselves, and to select the most probable.

San Marte established the fact that Wolfram used material not to be found in any French text, and in particular that he was familiar with the German Rolantsliet and used it in Willehalm. Wolfram's use of this and other extraneous matter leads

us to believe that we have no reason to assume all of his material to have been in his source. We can find portions of it in other sources with which he may have been acquainted, and we may believe he found the material in them, provided that these sources do not also contain matter of which he appears ignorant.

On the other hand Nassau Noordewier has made it in the highest degree probable that Wolfram's version differed from any existing version of Aliscans in at least two important respects, i. e. the Orleans episode, and the interview between Desramés and Guiborc, which is lacking in all mss. of Aliscans.

1) A discussion of the branches of the cycle makes it improbable that Wolfram had ever heard any of them, with the possible exception of the Charroi de Nîmes.

2) Of the other versions of Aliscans the French Prose Romance alone constrains us to admit a version of Aliscans distinctly different from those we have. Parallels between Willehalm and the *Storie Nerbonesi* and *Chançon de Willame* are about as likely to be due to coincidence as to a real relation.

3) We have found it possible to ascribe some further material, until now unaccounted for, to the *Rolantsliet*.

4) We have found possible sources of information for Wolfram in the *Kaiserchronik*, the open letter of Michel Mouriez, Archbishop of Arles, and in the *Guide de St. Jacques*.

5) We have found that the manuscript *M* of Aliscans bears a stronger likeness to Wolfram's manuscript than any other extant version, but that it does not preserve all the material used by Wolfram which is to be found in other manuscripts, and that it does not always give the reading most like Willehalm, when it furnishes the corresponding material.

From these data, the following hypotheses are possible:

1) Wolfram's source was a version of Aliscans containing all the material which has any connection with the cycle and had already undergone such pruning and softening that all changes,

including those of rôle or of sequence, are to be ascribed to this source. Only what must be attributed to a German origin or to the poet's personal feeling and expression of opinion, is to be considered as outside his source.

2) Wolfram's version of Aliscans differed from ours only in containing the episode at Orleans more nearly as he gives it, and an interview between Desramés and Guiborc, either like that in the French Prose Romance, or even more nearly as Wolfram gives it. There is little room for a difference of opinion as to whether his version contained the episodes of the smithy, the monastery and the monsters, the probability is strong that these passages were not in his version.

a) This just described version of Aliscans was (like all the mss. of Aliscans except *M*, which now exist) bound up with other branches of the cycle, and this particular ms. contained some or all the branches with which Wolfram shows any points of contact, and his reader read him some passages here and there and gave him some random information about the rest.

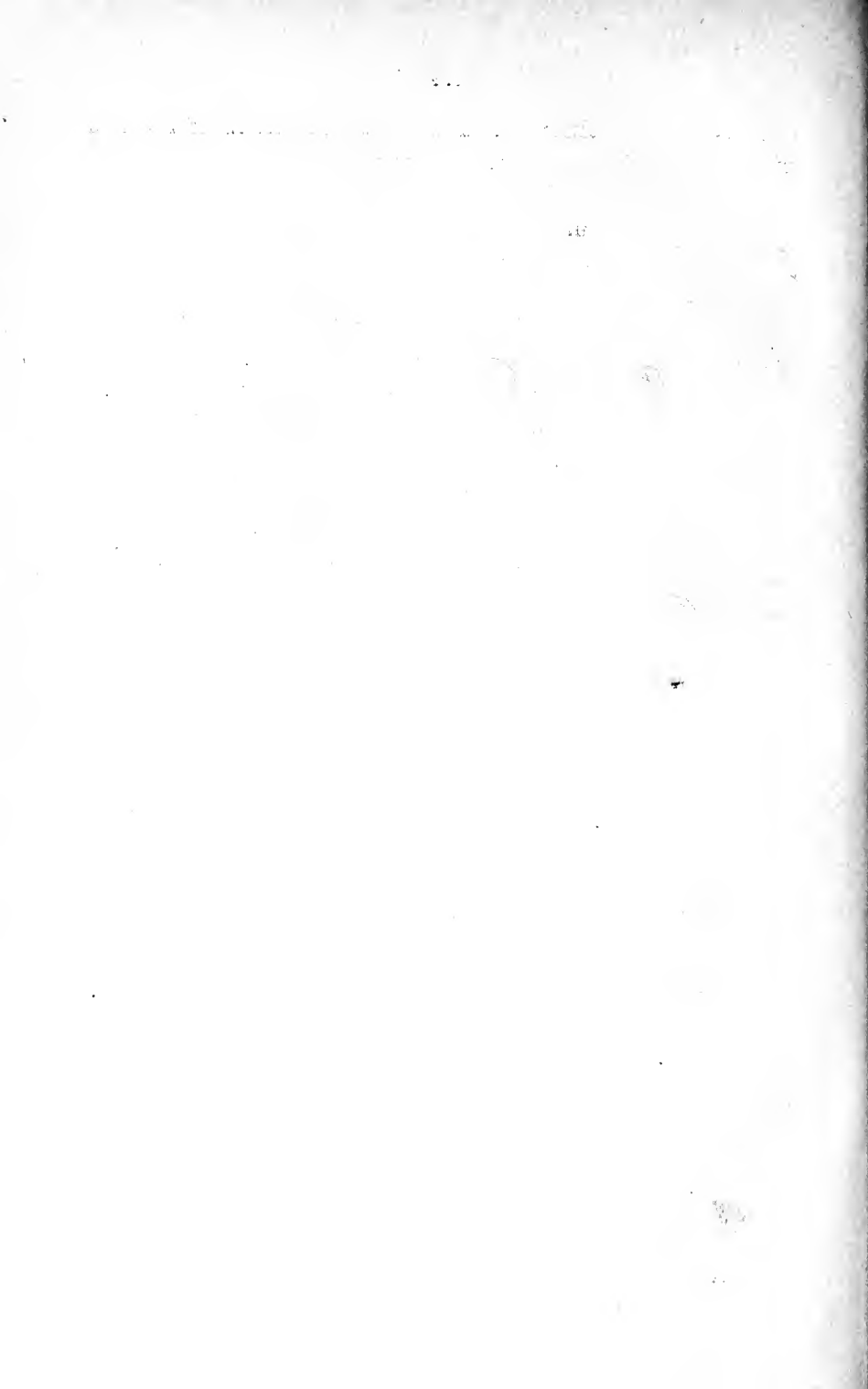
or b) This version contained only Aliscans, but Wolfram (at an unspecified date before he composed Willehalm) came in contact with a person or persons who knew traditions of the cycle and told him such details as imply a knowledge of other branches of the cycle.

Wolfram's relation to Moniage Guillaume II might be explained by the first hypothesis. It would be quite possible to imagine a version of Aliscans, which was to serve as a life of Saint William, and which was rounded out at the beginning and end by a brief summary of the events in the life of the hero, before and after the critical period of the two battles of Aliscans. But if a French author had undertaken this, he would surely have known something of Prise d'Orange and not have been forced to construct the story of Gyburc's elopement.

I have tried to set up the opposite poles of possible opinion

with regard to Wolfram's source; as an expression of my own opinion, I would choose a middle ground.

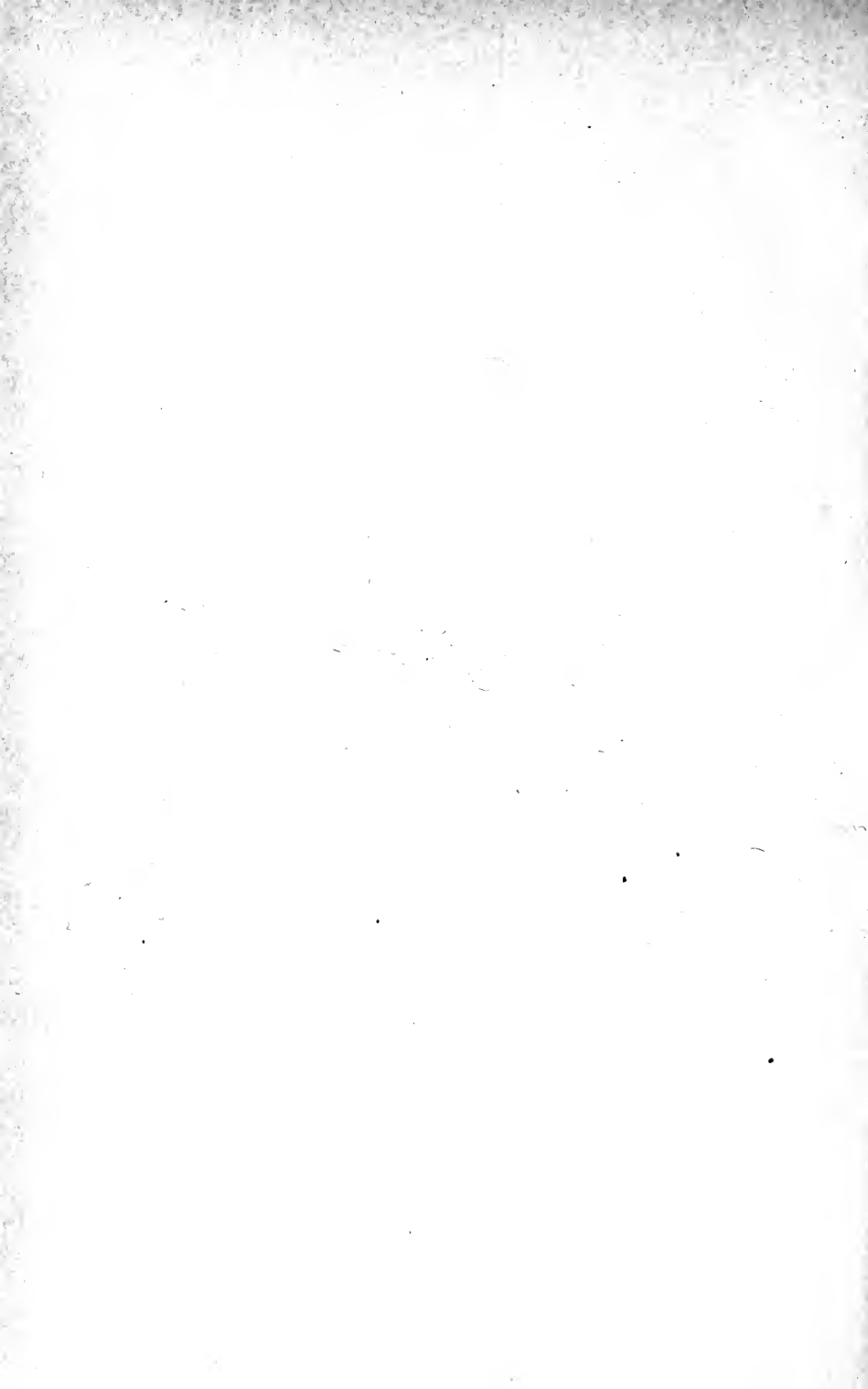
I believe that Wolfram's version of Aliscans contained less than what is given under 1), more than what is given under two. I consider that „2 a)“ and „2 b)“ have an equal degree of probability. Such passages of Willehalm as find repeated parallels in other connections in the branches of the cycle, so that they may be considered more or less as formulae, for instance the lists of names of nations, the threats of drowning, burning and hanging, the allusions to Longis, who pierced Christ's side, Tervagant as the name of a god, the expressions of ignorance about the length of a journey, probably stood in Wolfram's source at the points where he uses them. Wolfram's references to an authority for his statements are probably made in good faith.





L'allée des Tombeaux aux Alyscamps d'Arles.

Le (Journal de la Jeunesse, 1906, 7. avril.)



Errata.

Page	3,	line	17	from above, after <i>Jonckbloet</i> , insert <i>recognized the main source of Wolframs poem. Jonckbloet</i>
"	8,	"	10	from below read <i>seven</i>
"	9,	"	19	" above " <i>1908</i>
"	31,	"	5	" below " <i>from</i> instead of <i>till</i>
"	60,	"	9	" " " <i>version</i>
"	63,	"	3	" above " <i>sor</i>
"	69,	"	17	" " " <i>Romance</i>
"	76,	"	11	" " " <i>stoned</i> instead of <i>lapidated</i>
"	85,	"	17	" " " <i>The</i> " " <i>Both</i>
"	102	note	read	<i>1108— 1137</i>
"	110,	line	4	from below, read <i>Albanès and Gallia.</i>
"	114,	"	13	" above " <i>to</i> instead of <i>bis.</i>
"	131,	"	14	" " " <i>to the mss.</i>
"	138,	"	10	" below " <i>de</i> instead of <i>den</i>
"	146,	"	6	" above " <i>d</i> " " <i>s</i>
"	150,	"	13	" " " <i>The five names Galafré, Glôriôn, Faussabré, Rubiân and Môrant are</i>
"	152,	"	3	" " " <i>Rom. 35, 315</i>
"	154,	"	7	" below " <i>4395</i>
"	156,	"	6	" above " <i>22</i> instead of <i>23</i>
"	"	"	7	" " " <i>est</i> " " <i>et.</i>

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